A STUDY IN PURITANISM

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

by Gladys Dodd

The Story of Jonathan and Mary Gillett and of their Geneva Bible

PREFACE:

This lecture on Puritanism comes in 2 parts. If today's lesson presents a "sorry" picture, I can only report the times in which my ancestors and their fellow Puritans lived as I have found it in recorded pages.

The second lecture grows brighter. After the best plans of earnest men seemed to fail, God's Holy Spirit breathed into the Puritan world a "Great Awakening" to the repentant soul.

This lesson focuses on Jonathan and Mary Gillett. If they seem to get lost in overmuch history, not to worry, for they will reappear from time to time - with Geneva Bible in hand, but without "silken roses on their shoes".

If in this lecture I have missed the finer points of Puritanism, let it be hope that, at least, I have captured for you something of its spirit, as played out in flesh and blood of this unknown Puritan pair, as I found it in history.

Between the lines.

p. 1 of 30 pgs.

INTRODUCTION:

I am an 11th generation descendant of Jonathan Gillett who arrived on the first Puritan ship to anchor in Massachusetts Bay. Not the *Mayflower* - we missed that by 10 years, and Plymouth Rock by 30 miles. Jonathan arrived on the *Mary and John*, one of 140 Puritans in search of a Zion on earth, to occupy and do as God willed.

Names in the family tree reveals our O.T. heritage - Aaron and Isaac, Jonah and Noah - not Jewish, as Bible readers might suspect, but *Puritan*. Which in the 17th century was *not* all that different, for Puritans lived *close* to the Mosaic Code.

If Jonathan's neighbor of 50 years, Goodman Egleston, had 16,000 certified descendants from his 10 children, By 1865, it can be safely assumed Jonathan had likewise from his 10.

It has been calculated that fully 50% of the population in 1830 (6 million Americans) was descended from the 20,000 Puritans of the Great Migration - Puritan in *blood*, as well as in manners and morals.

If your ancestral entrance to this country predates 1830, this story I tell is probably your story as well. I simply took time to search it out. Between the lines of a history text. Texts are sketchy and boring - and *biased*. I should know, for I taught history in public high schools 24 years.

It is popular today for radio evangelicals, who *imagine* they want to return to the basics of our founding fathers, to lament the watering down of the American history textbook. It is true as charged that some standard U.S. history texts *do not mention* the Pilgrims sacred to American origins. I had one of these in my personal library.

Then I sent to Florida for a highly recommended text for Christian schools, written from the Christian perspective. The chapters on the spiritual foundations of America had much to say about both the Pilgrims and Puritans. All in a positive light.

What I noted, however, was the absence of our founding father's ruthless slaughter of Indians. Nor did it mention the persecution of the Quakers in the Bay Colony. Their text simply stated that the Quakers and Puritans "disagreed" on some points.

Indeed!

This "disagreement" led to boring their tongues through, with hot irons to silence their gospel of the "Inner Light".

There ought to be more integrity in recounting history on both sides - by the humanists, and the religious right.

For me the skeletal names in my pedigree came to life like Ezekial's valley of dry bones, as I perused fresh and yellowed pages of more than 50 sources. Sometimes a line or even a word reveals a wealth of emotion.

In reading from The Colonial Records of Connecticut, the exact wording of the oath of office Jonathan uttered upon becoming constable of Windsor in 1665, I felt his sense of duty and fear. The oath began , "I doe sweare by the greate and dreadfull name of the everliving God . . ."

This "dreadfull God" was one of the major reasons the Puritans took ship to come to the New World. Oh, some dreamed of building a "Citty of God", as they perceived it. But some less altruistic fled Merrie England to save themselves from the impending wrath of Almighty God about to fall on dear England, for its folly and sins. Sins of Sabbath breaking, of extravagent dress, of lewd theatres, of Popish practices retained in the Anglican church, of horoscopes, and books on how to make pact with the Devil.

Little wonder Jonathan promised to "faythfully execute the office and place of a Constable . . . so helpe me God". For it was his duty to help Windsor to escape the wrath of an offended Deity by spying on, and reporting to magistrates the evil doings of his neighbors, to stay the whetted sword of the great Avenger.

It was a thankless task being constable. As Moses had made no provision for constables in his government, it remained for the freemen of the town to annually appoint 2 of their number to serve in this unpopular capacity. Few wanted to serve twice, not even a Puritan! And Jonathan did not.

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

Seventeenth century England's first interest in Massachusetts was more in ling cod for the supper plate, than in any "holy" experiment; thus the fishing village of Salem. But the Puritan flight from James I made it more of a religious refuge, than a business venture, despite what economic historians want to write.

Three weeks before Winthrop, the Moses of this Great Migration, anchored at Salem in 1630, the Mary and John discharged her Puritans at a place they would call Dorchester, now a part of Boston. Among them was bachelor Jonathan Gillett. My other progenitor aboard this ship was Mr. Phelps. His title spoke of the lesser gentry, a landed rank to which many Puritans belonged.

Their expedition was led by Rev. John Warham, and ordained Anglican of Oxford, who had been silenced by Bishop Laud for his Puritan views.

It had become dangerous to be Puritans in England. These held views not practiced by the Anglican Armininians, and even attended unapproved chapel services instead of the State Church of England.

Once on land, Jonathan was assigned to live with a family, for it was the Puritan way to monitor morals of all, esp. the singles.

Dodd

To this end Puritans, more Hebrew in spirit than Christian as Calvin taught man's moral depravity required external controls, they made laws, perhaps more than Moses' 620.

So many, that dissidents fell out with the established church in Boston, notably Roger Williams who protested the notion that Church and State were one and the same. And that other heretic Anne Hutchinson, who questioned the clergy's ability to determine who and who was not among the "elect".

Both were banished. While in Boston, Jonathan probably knew them both, and certainly that other famous dissident, Rev. Thos. Hooker.

But before he joined the Hooker connection, Jonathan went back to England, but soon returned with Rev. Warham's niece MARY as bride, and a Geneva Bible, Calvin's translation. His particular edition of 1599 had escaped confiscation and burning by Bishop Laud. And as for the King James' Version, it did not sit well with the Puritans; after all, they were fleeing from James I!

Dissidents Hooker and Warham took their congregations 100 wilderness miles to the Connecitut River where they set out to establish a new Zion MUCH LIKE BOSTON'S:- Their river towns hoped to build a New Jerusalem, on the N.T. form of church government. From this notion of congregationalism evolved the town meeting, as it was believed a righteous laity had no need of Pope or bishop, or any authority higher than the Bible.

With these tools these Puritans hoped to perfect a Christian society, here and now in this howling wilderness.

Laws of this Puritan State were enacted to support all that the church aimed to perfect. Thus Church and State were one, a kind of theocracy after the manner of Moses.

Dodd

And this State would find its guidelines in the Mosaic Code. With one important addition - the governed should be governed by the consent of the governed. This did not mean "democracy", as we know it; as Wintrop testily remarked, Democracy did not exist in Israel. Rev. John Cotton believed that democracy was not fit to govern either Chruch or State. In Connecticut, Hooker came to disagree. Somewhat.

Of course the governed, like Jonathan and Mary, being naturally sinful, must be put into godly shape by the church and ordained clergy, like Rev. Uncle Warham and Rev. Hooker. With or without the consent of the governed. Jonathan had discovered that the New Jerusalem was not in the Bay Colony after all; perhaps in Windsor . . . He got permission to leave.

Before Jonathan and Mary left the Bay Colony about the time their twins were born, they were admitted to the Dorchester church congregation in full communion. After a satisfactory public testimony of their conversion experience in regeneration. And a show of hands by the approving brotherhood.

Now visible Saints, they demonstrated their election by their godly walk - meaning conformity to Puritan rules in every detail.

They fervently believed, though probably did not fully understand, the cardinal tenets of Puritan theology, which (1. believed in original sin, human depravity, and the irrestible grace of God; (2. the greatly stressed-sovereignity of God; (3. that the Bible was the ultimate authority, that God's will could be discerned only through it, and that it was to be interpreted only by certified clergy; thus personal revelation was anathema, as Anne Hutchinson and any Quaker should have known.

They also believed that a people, a nation, should have a covenant with God - to keep His laws, and God in turn would bless them -

Dodd

early equivalent of today's gospel of health and wealth. SCORE W/GOD—GET MORE, PERHAPS THE TARNISHED SEED IN THE RELIGIOUS ZEALOT.

Thus, the BIBLE Commonwealth - a civil state whose laws were supported by the collective power of the clergy - like Rev. Uncle and other divines - whose power alone could not carry out the contract without the force of government. Church members were to elect their rulers, and submit to them, lest they be in rebellion against God. Quakers, for example, would not submit to them in every detail; thus, they were seen as anarchists.

In the Bay Colony, Jonathan took the oath of freeman, for church membership and only this granted him the right to vote for his rulers. The franchise, of course, never applied to Mary, also a church member.

In Connecticut to which Jonathan led his growing family, the law was to liberate the franchise. Somewhat. The Fundamental Orders here said any freeman, churched or not, could vote. This landmark in American democracy became the basis of the U.S. Constitution to come 144 years later. But even here, upon taking oath, the freeman swore to uphold orthodoxy, and the belief in the Trinity, and to swear that he was not atheist, Quaker or Jew.

Here in Connecticut transplanted Englishmen made laws similar to those of "deare England" - hanging for witches, buggers and murderers; jail for debtors; public flogging for any number of offenses. For Puritans had not clattered down the gangplank in buckled shoes to kiss the soil and thus become American. They remained Englishmen - pease porridge hot, and all.

The Fundamental Orders imposed stiff penalties for harboring heretics in the home. Laws banned the wearing of "silken roses on the leathern shoes". Since my people of Windsor were simple yeomen dunging rye fields, this "blue law" may not have pained them overmuch, as it did the more elegant Puritan grandees, for worldliness and pride had now begun to creep in.

Private emotional pain to this worthy ancestor Jonathan was less harsh to bear than the public humiliation of stock and whipping post. And with solemn righteousness he and his fellow citizens erected these instruments of cruelty. In front of the meetinghouse-on the village green-to be used against offenders.

It was death for sodomy, even if it meant the parson's stepson. And it did. For Rev. Uncle preached, as all the other divines, that the sodomite must be put to death.

Although Puritans were careful to vigorously apply execution to selected Mosaic abominations, it conveniently disregarded others,

But buggery in Windsor! So they condemned Rev. Uncle's stepson, and hanged him from a gallows. The bugger was 18; his name was John. Nevermore did the family mention his name-again.

Jonathan was not constable that year; his appointment came later. As constable he was obliged to see that all punishment was properly carried out.

One local couple was punished for contempt and battery. The man lost his franchise. His wife having no precious franchise to strip away was stripped of her clothes; the lashes laid on her naked body.

Fornication was punishable by fine or public flogging. Or prohibition to ever marry at all! This latter threat should have dampened the fiercest ardor of young Romeos and Juliets, but failed to discourage ~~overmuch~~ the pair hauled into court for bastardy.

The offending lover paid the girls' parents a goodly sum, after which his cheek was branded with a hot iron. The Court further mandated that one of my ancestors — not Jonathan but the magistrate Mr. Phelps, see to it that some form of punishment was inflicted upon the girl for concealing her embarassing condition so long. The couple, now properly humiliated, was court ordered to marry.

One of Jonathan's constable duties was to report all Sabbath breakers to the magistrates - those who picked apples, or shaved, or cooked victuals on the Lord's Day. It was his duty to snoop. And to report those who did not attend Sabbath worship for their punishment.

These cruel punishments by today's standards were not peculair to the New England Puritans, of course. Similar measures were a way of life in Europe as well, in this same time period.

But these towers of cruelty were to crumble and fail, like the tower of Babel, leaving the Puritans confounded and humbled by unconquerable wickedness, which only a Great Awakening would spiritually remedy - however short lived - as we shall see. And Rev. Uncle's great-grandson would be one of the mortal moving forces in this unfolding drama - Jonathan Edwards.

We now come to the concern that our Puritan fathers had for their children, and wives.

Perhaps few were as lenient in family discipline as Cotton Mather, pastor of Boston's North Church. He spent an hour every day with his young ones. He did not believe in the use of the rod; he gave or withheld a sweetmeat for reward or punishment.

He was also ahead of his time in educating his offspring. He equipped the nursery for reading and writing, heard his children's catechism on Mondays, and read their written prayers. On Saturday he took each into his study to talk and pray with each alone. He allowed his children to choose their own studies, encouraging one daughter to study medicine, as he had done at Harvard where his father was President.

Cotton himself was a remarkable scholar, learned in 7 languages. As writer he defended the Copernican theory, and offered the first colonial explanation of Newton's theory of physics. He published hundreds of books on many subjects, leading to his membership in the Royal Society.

But he did not succeed with all his children. His keenest disappointment was in his son Cresy. One may read in Mather's diary of this father's anguish.

When the profligate lad was 18, he cried out, "Oh my God, what shall I do? I will not yett utterly cast off the wretched child . . . There may be yett unknown Reserves of Mercy".

But he did cast Cresy out of the parsonage, in hopes his reverend grandfather might have better success in his pious upbringing. Then he penned, "Lord, tho' I am a Dog, yett cast out the Devil that has possession . . . (of) my ungodly hard hearted son . . ."

Upon learning that prodigal Cresy had perished at sea enroute to Barbados, he lamented as King David had over the rebellious Absalom: "Ah! My son, my son, is lost, is dead, is gone!"

Perhaps this anguished lament serves to illustrate the keenest of many Puritan dilemmas; - the Puritan believed, on one hand, that the sinner was utterly helpless to do anything to save himself, and would be utterly rejected by Christ, unless he was born of God. yet, on the other hand, even before this same sinner issued from his mother's womb, God had from eternity already foreordained his salvation by election.

This paradox affected Puritans differently. Some agonized over the uncertainity of their election. Others felt secure, as divinely destined to a glorious eternity with God.

Under Connecticut's "blue" laws, rebellious children were assigned to stern guardians who could and would control them, if parents

Dodd

could not; this meant boys until the age of 21, girls until 18.

The same Code provided for schools. The Connecticut preamble began: "It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures . . . it is therefore ordered by this Court . . . to teach all children . . . to write and read . . .". There you have it!— to keep ~~them~~ the tads one step ahead of the Devil, by arming them with the sword of the Lord.

So the Gillett children learned their letters at the cottage school of Mr. Branker, who held a M.A. from Oxford, as most early divines and their associates had lettered at Oxford or Cambridge before coming to America. These earnestly promoted education here, both grammar and collegiate. Harvard was established to educate the clergy, as was Yale, Princeton and Dartmouth to come a little later.

Lying was a "foule and gross sin". All convicted liars 14 and up received a ~~half dozen~~ six stripes. At the public whipping post on the village green. On Wednesday, after the regular midday church lecture. When a sizeable assembly was about, to witness the humiliation.

Younger children received their stripes privately, by parents, in the presence of two witnesses. If the home failed to cooperate, the town constable obliged.

The fact that Jonathan's one wife Mary lived to be 78 was testimony to her good health, and endurance in childbearing. Many Puritans, as did Cotton, had two or three wives due to the uncertainties of bearing children, one every other year. A woman's limit was 9 or 10 babies, if she did not die in childbed before.

Here in Windsor, as in other New England towns, nearly 60% of the church memberships consisted of powerless females despite early childbed deaths.

And the perils of childbearing may have been one of the very reasons, for the frequency of being brought to childbed increased her anxieties about death and eternity. A preoccupation which Mather saw as the curse "which the Female Sex is doom'd unto, (but) God Sanctifies the Chains, the Pains, the Deaths . . . ."

A Puritan marriage was a civil contract, not church sacrament, or covenant. A civil authority, a JP, performed the ceremony; thus magistrate Mr. Phelps could marry a couple, but Rev. Uncle could not.

Seating in the meeting house then was segregated, for mingling of sexes in the pews during prayer and sermon was considered distracting for worshippers.

The wife was viewed as a helpmeet from Adam's rib, an equal as it were, although the husband clearly was to govern her.

Puritan divines often preached long sermons on redemption, as a marriage to Christ, comparing it to the civil contract:- "As wives submit to man, so man submits to God." Females by nature seemed better suited as the "bride of Christ", as they could easily identify with obedience to Christ; males had trouble with this, as it required a reversal of his dominant role.

Also men seemed less inclined to take on the virtues of meekness and patience, and subjection in spiritual dependence to the local shepherd like Rev. Uncle. This anti-clerical disposition manifested by males led to many religious schisms, and is thought to have been a contributing factor in the rising political revolt in the American Revolution as well.

But one of the Windsor females who held her own with the clergy was Rev. Uncle's clever daughter, Cousin Hester. Not shy or uncertain as her melancholy father, she matched wits and knowledge with the divines of the day, for she married one of the Mathers, and later Dr. Stoddard.

Sixty years mistress of the Northampton manse, she died at 96, and her grandson Jonathan Edwards preached her funeral.

Mary Gillett's own longevity was, in part, testimony that she had escaped the onus of witch suspicion. Childbearing every other year consumed a mother's reserves, causing some to act a little out of mind, like talking to herself in the turnip patch, with none to hear but the village gossip, who would report her talking to "Ye Devil", — who else? And a prudent housewife would not mention anything black seen by candlelight, or that worms got into a live hen's gizzard.

But it remained for poor Alse down the street in Windsor to be the first in all New England to be executed for witchcraft. Nor was poor Alse the last, for seven years later Lydia Gilbert was charged with having "killed the body" of Henry Stiles, although every militiaman on drill had witnessed that the Allyn boy accidentally discharged his musket into Stiles. But it was Lydia, not the Allyn boy, who went to the gallows, for somehow casting a spell.

Salem women in the Bay Colony suffered a similar fate, for 19 were hanged, after conviction by the Courts. This sordid tale need not be related here, except to mention that the Salem trials involved fewer witches than in similar trials in Europe about the same time.

It is probably true that Mather's publication stimulated the witchcraft hysteria, and that both Mathers lent support to the delusion. At first. Historians like to blame them, but fail to mention that these same divines, somewhat tardily, assumed the responsibility for calling a halt to their reign of terror.

Nor do they mention the fact that Judge Sewall of the Court publicly repented his role in the trials, that he wrote his confession and stood in humiliation before the South Church congregation while it was being read. Or that thereafter that he annually

observed a personal day of humiliation and prayer, for God's forgiveness for his part in the witch scourge.

During the 17 years that Jonathan Gillett served as juror in Windsor judging his fellowman, a kind of righteous judgement befell him, or so it was believed by those who held that Indian troubles was punishment from an offended God. He lost two sons in King Phillip's War. Missionary John Eliot had 4000 "praying Indians" when that war broke out in 1675.

From the beginning Gov. Winthrop thought it a good thing to bring the Indian into the Kingdom of God, but Puritans found it easier to usher the natives into Kingdom Come, with musket and with fire.

King Phillip, whose father Massasoit helped save the Plymouth Pilgrims with gifts of seafood and corn, was now the new chief. He noted that Puritans outnumbered Indians in his tribal lands. He organized armed resistance.

Clergy called for a Solemn Day of Public Prayer and Humiliation. What sins had brought down the Lord's wrath? New England searched its conscience. Was it shuffleboard and dancing? Was it men wearing wigs of women's hair?

Despite a round of repentance, Indian reprisals continued. A Son of Jonathan's was cut down by the tomahawk, his grandchildren carried away into captivity.

Morals were even more rigidly enforced, but within 3 years King Phillip had destroyed one-half of the English towns, and one of every 16 white males. In defense Puritans continued to fire wigwams, burning whole families alive. Even Cotton Mather reported that 600 Indians were "terribly barbequed".

In the end King Phillip lost his head; and a son of Jonathan's lost his as well. Poor ambushed Joseph's head was buried with his body at Deerfield. As for King Phillip - his head, after he was

drawn and quartered, was placed on a pike and displayed at the Pilgrim's plantation for many years. As a warning.

Had no one discovered the N.T. in New England? It must not be supposed, as some biased historians seem to infer, that there was neither Christ nor Trinity in all New England.

Rev. Uncle's congregation was frequently addressed as "the Church of Christ at Windsor". East Windsor's first pastor, Rev. Edwards, father of Jonathan Edwards, in one paper acknowleged the Trinity, and said "there is no way to obtain Mercy, and Salvation, but Only by faith in the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Eternall Son of God, and the alone Saviour of Sinners . . ."

Cotton's diary remarks, "My Conformity to My Glorious Lord Jesus Christ, it is, how agreeable! how desirable!". Of 70 sermon texts he used in preaching in 1709, 48% came from the N.T.

Even Jonathan's constable oath of 1665 ended "so helpe me God, in the Lord Jesus Christ".

But even this simple yeoman of the soil and of little power probably found it easier to be more the legalistic Pharisee which is natural, than a follower of Christ which requires the supernatural.

And so this representative common ordiaary Puritan couple, Jonathan and Mary, remained invisible to history books. But in their day they numbered among the visible Saints, to walk circumspectly, followers of Calvin and dear Rev. Uncle their shepherd for 40 years.

Unlike Rev. Uncle who meditated overlong on theology and in the constant searching of his soul (and those of neighbors) for signs of grace, his niece Mary bore 10 children and fed them peason porridge, and turnips from gardens she herself tended.

As for Jonathan-he grovelled less as a worm in the dust but got himself to the grist mill for corn for Goodwife to make his bread.

Dodd

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

PART TWO

A Study in Puritanism

"The Great Awakening"

Last time we saw HOW an English couple of the Original Saints - which, by the way, is a bonafide term in history - played out their Puritan roles in the challenges of 17th century New England.

Today we will look at the way the descendants of these Visible Saints - also a history term - responded to the spiritual revivals of the Great Awakening in the mid-18th century.

This is the story then of the third and fourth generation a century later - the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the first Puritan immigrants, who HAD succeeded in passing on their form of godliness, but, of course, could not transmit its power to these new generations.

Not that he neglected his daily sanctification, the walk that becomes God's elect, but like other yeomen of the soil perhaps scrutinized the standng of his soul less often than the hides of his livestock for dangerous mites.

Thus he was saved from overmuch preoccupation with sin as melancholy divines, and perhaps because of it had more peace of mind.

When Jonathan laid down his scythe and cross in 1677 to take up his crown, the New Jerusalem of that early Puritan vision had not materialized. Nor would it ever be built. Not by mere mortals. He knew himself as a "planter", but felt himself in the end a pilgrim looking for a city, not built with hands as Boston Mather's "Citty set on a hill", but one whose ruler and maker is God.

Goody Gillett died the day before Epiphany, 1685, a visible Saint to the end, not given to independent thought as a heretic, for she was one to obey the voice of the earthly shepherd of her soul, Rev. Uncle.

She left the cherished Geneva Bible to her children. But alas!- she had learned that it spoke different things to different folk, for she had seen these differences divide the churches, and how those schisms scattered her children to other settlemnts, and other biblical interpretations.

Four years ago the Windsor Historical Society received the Gillett Bible to display in its museum. This fall I hope to see the identical Book which brought Jonathan and Mary from England to begin a holy experiment-in the name of God.

If in this lecture I have missed the finer points of Puritanism, let it be hoped that I, at least, have captured for you something of its spirit, as played out in flesh and blood of this unknown Puritan pair, as I found it in history.

Between the lines.

#

PART TWO: FAITH OF OUR FATHERS, A Study in Puritanism: THE GREAT AWAKENING:—

by Gladys Dodd.

Historians have chosen *1685*, CO-INCIDENTALLY the very year Goody Mary Gillett died, as the end of the *old* Puritan period. THIRD GENERATION Cotton Mather, for one, mourned the loss of Puritan influence, and the loss of *reverence* for the clergy. Clear, sound conversions were no longer frequent in his day! youth, like his own son CRESY, were becoming profligate.

We saw last time how the Lord had increased the Puritans' progeny, if not their wisdom in building the new Zion as well. But one of the most painful struggles came over of what to do with these children in offering church membership. In England membership had been a family affair; here in New England, it was based on the individual decision. What to do?

These cultivated children had no problem whatsoever in declaring *the* faith, not necessarily *theirs*, but *the* faith, for they knew it by heart and from stripe. For the Saints' children had grown up "good" - if not by *nature*, then by careful *nurture*. All *knew* and kept the rules; there was little choice in the watchful community.

Perhaps these already "good" children saw no earthly need for a special conversion. Already obeying the commands of Church and State, was this not *good* enough for church membership? *No*, it was *not*, said the traditionalists, as many grown children gave no evidence whatsoever of having received *saving* grace, i.e., regeneration from ~~above~~ GOD.

The Boston divines called a council — if, for no other reason than the Church was shrinking in numbers, and in potential power for future generations to control the affairs of Church and State. They arrived at a compromise, called the Half-Way Covenant, an experiment which was to tear New England apart. The children now could become partial members, second class Christians, without conversion.

Rev. Uncle Warham championed its implementation in Connecticut.

Jonathan Gillett's oldest daughter, the twin, was one of the first children of the original Saints to own this Half-Way Covenant. Her husband Peter Brown must have testified satisfactorily to having received the coveted regeneration experience, for he owned the highly esteemed full covenant, and all rights pertaining thereto. They had 14 children. Which covenant would they be eligible to own?

This third generation of the Half-Way, denied certain rights and privileges, scattered to escape the autocratic church. One of these was Jonathan's grandson, Benjamin of my lineage. He went up river to settle in the pine forests of Suffield. He married schoolmaster Austin's daughter, but there is no record of his owning any covenant, full or half. They had 9 children. Their pastor was Rev. Ebenezer Devotion, who owned slaves as did the Mathers in Boston, and Jonathan Edwards, his friend.

About a dozen years after Benjamin Gillett left Windsor for the pines, the church across the river from the ancestral home installed a new pastor — Rev. Timothy Edwards, who had just finished his divinity studies at Harvard, and had taken a wife, the daughter of Cousin Hester and Dr. Stoddard of Northampton.

At East Windsor, Timothy was ordained. His ordination ball was the wonder of the river towns! It is believed that the black frocked parson and his bride did not dance themselves — only dispensed the wine at the feast. A dance at the manse! Clearly a new kind of Puritan was emerging, one their preacher son hoped to snatch from the pit of hell and restore to safety, in the revivals of the Great Awakening.

This couple had 11 children - JOnathan, and 60' of daughters as the Rev. jocularly claimed. Levity had crept in, but it was true, - each of their 10 daughters was 6' tall.

Rev. Timothy himself is known to have come from a demented family in New Haven. His mother was divorced for madness by his merchant father; his uncle murdered his sister, and was executed; his aunt

murdered her son, and was convicted. Rev. Timothy himself escaped the family taint, and successfully completed a 64 YEAR ministry at East Windsor.

At 17, his son the brilliant Jonathan Edwards was graduated from Yale, and at 18 occupied the Presbyterian pulpit in New York for several months, before being called to co-pastor the Northampton congregation with his celebrated grandfather Dr. Stoddard, which church he served for 21 years after his grandfather's passing.

Dr. Stoddard's pulpit was considered liberal for the times; he re-defined "Sainthood". For one thing, in addition to favoring "modern" music, he allowed the unregenerated members of his church to partake at the Lord's Table, as he viewed this as a converting ordinance, a means of regeneration. Thus he undid all Rev. Uncle and the Mathers, Cousin Hester's kin, had tried to do with the Half-Way Covenant. Churches split again.

With his £100 salary Jonathan could afford a wife and married Sarah, the intelligent great-granddaughter of Thomas Hooker, founder of Hartford. At the wedding Sarah WORE a green satin brocaded gown, and Jonathan SPORTED a new suit and a new powdered wig. He built a home for their 11 children Sarah was to bear, one half of whom were born on a Sunday. Which was considered the eyebrow lifting wonder of that day, for it was believed that a child was born on the same day of the week it ~~was~~ HAD BEEN conceived!

Here at the manse a negro SERVANT helped with the children, while Jonathan applied himself in his study 13 hours daily in writing sermons. He worked out 30 minutes on week days chopping wood, sometimes smoking his long pipe. Not particularly social, he was perceived as somewhat arrogant. But by all historical accounts, this divine, and third President of Princeton, is recognized as a brilliant theologian, and philosopher, and one of America's great thinkers.

Dodd

Incidentally, from his 11 children were to issue an amazing number of descendants of distinction - including 13 college presidents, 65 professors, 66 physicians, 100 each of lawyers and overseas missionairies. And a rascal grandson named Aaron Burr, - the U.S. Vice-Pres. - who killed Alexander Hamilton in a duel, and later plotted the historic scheme to invade Mexico, and was convicted of treason, ~~all after he was Vice-Pres of the U.S~~. ?

By 1734 New England had become a valley of dry bones spiritually. Religion declined. The young scoffed, frisked with Indian women, AND drank strong spirits.

Only God knew if this heap of dry bones could live again. But this is just what happened! While the letter of the Mosaic law had indeed killed, the Spirit of God quickened bone and sinew with a noise and a shaking, and breathed new life into them.

This shaking in history is called the Great Awakening.

Its first stirrings were not heard in New England at all, nor was the movement spearheaded by Jonathan Edwards' preaching Sinners in the Hands of An Angry God.

The religious tidal wave to sweep two continents, across many denominational lines and colleges and several theological systems before its energy was spent, began among the worldly Dutch colonists - of all people.

no p. 19

Dodd

About the time Puritan Jonathan Gillett swore the constable's oath on the lower Connecticut (1665), Magad~~a~~lene DIRX ~~Drix~~, my Dutch ancestor, was thrown into the military jail on the upper Hudson River. For at a New Year's party (1667) she insulted the Captain of the British occupation by calling his sister a "whore". Which was not too savvy only 3 years after England seized New Netherlands in the days of peg-legged Peter Stuyvesant, an elder in the Dutch Reformed Church.

Stuyvesants' first "blue law" as N.Y. Governor had been to restrict the sale of liquor, for colonists were addicted to alcohol. Even the clergy. An earlier Governor charged an earlier domine with appearing in his pulpit in only 2 conditions - drunk, or dead drunk. The preacher returned the charge, with spirit. They both drowned at sea on the same ship enroute to Holland to iron out differences.

Magdalene Dirx and her newest husband Harmon operated a tippling house in New Amsterdam (now NYC), probably illegally, for both were deported, or fled to escape a ruinous fine, for selling LIQUOR after hours, or to Indians, or without a license.

Their re-entry papers to America (1658) show that that return was on condition that they keep neither tavern, nor liquor to sell. The same paper stated Magdalene's alias - it was the "Flying Angel". Perhaps the name was earned the day she had incited the riot against the firewarden, for probably condemning her own unswept chimney at the tavern. The record of her arrest is cited in the annals of the NYC fire department.

"Flying" she was; "angel" she was not, although she was among the first to join the church upon confession of faith in Kingston, where Harmon became woodcutter, and she took in washing from the barber, the drummer at the fort, and the preacher's wife.

Thus they settled among the "loose-livers," for colonists leaned MORE toward materialism as Holland was now in its Golden Age, than to Calvinist piety, altho this theology held supreme in the Fatherland. Over 1/2 of all the merchant ships in the world flew the Dutch flag; trade was brisk on all continents, for these Calvinist merchants believed that trade for profit was a God-given right, and that material wealth was a sign of God's dearest blessing. But religion itself was not a top priority until the Great Awakening, and then only with some.

In America, Holland exploited Indian fur trade and land, buying for fishooks and trinkets. Dutch colonists too hacked Indians to pieces, throwing red infants into the fire, persecuted the Quakers but tolerated the Jews, favored hard work and hard liquor, and enjoyed "rough and loose" living. Even the clergy seemed more concerned about their lean pockets than in the Heidelberg Catechism, so the colonists were perpetually short of preachers for over 100 years.

Magdalene and her husband Harmon cheerfully joined this great society of "loose-livers," roistering and rioting with the best. She took full advantage of the feminist freedom, for Dutch women were more emancipated than HER Puritan counterpart MARY GILLETT in New England. MAGDALENE could own her own business, and keep her maiden name till death, which she did. She lived up to her alias - "Flying Angel." And Harmon kept flight with her, for both raised HELL IN general all their days, as revealed by the Nichols-Lovelace papers, as they ever strove for the big barn, great beer, and the good life.

They were constantly arrested, hauled into court, fined many a guilder for one offense or another - Harmon for refusing to pay the church tax, for brawling on Sabbath, for insulting the Sheriff, whom he proceeded to challenge in Court to a sword duel.

Both had a special affinity for assault and battery. One brawl consisted of their hearty participation IN a round of stick beatings over the ownership of a pile of manure. None of their many black-and-blue bruises seemed to have been earned at their village whipping post, just from UNfriendly neighbors. In one assault case, Harmon sullenly informed the Court when charged with beating a man and wife, that he did not beat the wife, which proves chivalry did exist in this woodcutter.

Magdalene did not let church membership long deter her colorful misadventures. She hauled a sister in the faith into court in a dispute over the appearance of a comet in January skies - was it an omen from God, or not? Once she hindered the Sheriff in the exercise of his duty in arresting a woman, and threatened to break open his own head; she had 9 children at home at the time.

This couple did not differ substantially from most Dutch colonists whose public records also show scandalous conduct. Perhaps this graphic story helps to explain what the despairing domines COME TO MID-COL meant by the Dutch settlers being "rough and loose".

What has this to do with religious revival? It can be readily seen here we have a lawless, drunken, materialistic people, sorely in need of something.

This "something" appeared to the third and fourth generation of Dutch descendants, who had not noticeably improved with the passing of time any more than HAD the Puritans of the same period, especially the Jersey Dutch , loose-livers across the Hudson from Staten Island.

G. Dodd

The Great Awakening is believed to have begun ~~in~~ as early as 1720 with the preaching of Rev. Frelinghuysen, a German born domine of pietistic persuasion sent to minister to the Dutch in the Middle Colonies, Dutch who cared more for big barns than in any gospel specifics beyond outward conformity in baptism and church burial.

Pietism taught the importance of the individual's personal relationship to God and emphasized personal repentance and faith, ~~and new to Calvinists~~, that there was an assurance of the soul's salvation. The doctrine of assurance was a tenet not in good standing with Calvinism, Dutch or otherwise, but Dickinson, first President of Presby Princeton, came to clearly preach this divine assurance, the witness of the Spirit with one's own spirit concerning his adoption to the family of God through Christ Jesus.

No one was to preach these ideas better than British evangelist George Whitefield, 20 years yet from sweeping America with unprecedented revival.

The religious awakening stirred first in N.J., then swept into N.Y., where in both places Dutch descendants of the Flying Angel came under the influence of THE revival preaching of Frelinghuysen and 4 of his evangelist sons, of the Tennents roaring up and down the land, of Princeton's MORE SUBDUED Dickinson and Burr, and of fiery Whitefield himself, who began his itineracy in 1739 on the Delaware, and was to GO INTO ~~arrive in~~ New England to the territory of the Gilletts and OF Jonathan Edwards.

But even before his arrival to the Connecticut Valley, 32 congregations here ~~here~~ had revivals under the preaching of their longtime pastors. This included Devotion's church in Suffield, where Benjamin Gillett and related families lived.

Edwards never took credit for the New England revival in 1735, clearly calling it a work of God, stating that an outpouring of the

Spirit was neither novel, nor yet local.

In a published tract - The Surprising Work of God - the world on both sides of the Atlantic read about this most recent awakening, as witnessed and analyzed by its author Edwards. Among these were Wesley and Isaac Watts in England. Rev. Devotion of Suffield was one of 6 clergy to endorse Edwards' account, in responsed to British correspondents inquiring as to the veracity of the event, as reported by Edwards.

New England morals had lapsed. In Boston prostitutes brazenly displayed themselves in the windows of bawdy houses. Rev. Cotton Mather suffered heartbreak and shame over his wenching wayward son Cresy. ~~The~~ Boston Commons now was a park for fashionable promenading. Increasing numbers of women left their husbands for marital incompatibility.

In Northampton Edwards described this "looseness in life" in his young parishioners as a time of frolicing in taverns and night walking, hardly considred great vices today. But it was their Sabbath "company-keeping" which seemed to him the worst offence. Parents had lost control; their town had lost its sense of sin, emphasized in the Calvinistic doctrine as "man's utter depravity".

In his tract, Edwards speaks of the "conviction for sin "as a striving of the Spirit of God, characterized first by a sensible realization of sins, and an astonishing sense of guilt; secondly, by the presence of inward sins of the heart, as in the corrupt nature; both attended by a terrifying sense of God's just anger with sin.

But then these young people —AND AM. REVIVALS ALWAYS MADE THE GREATEST IMPACT AMONG the young, voluntarily began to listen to Edwards' entreaties to change their ways, when the death of a young women gave a glowing testimony of God's saving mercy on her deathbed. This stirred the town of 200 families with eternal concerns. Conviction seized the people. Taverns emptied; sinners asked What shall we do to be saved? Satan raged in a dreadful manner. Edwards' own

uncle, a local merchant, spent sleepless nights, heard voices, and slit his own throat. Backbiters suddenly aware of the dreadful corruption of their nature came out of darkness into the marvellous light of God. The revival was on, and continued for months.

Edwards concluded in this tract that people generally were blessed of the Lord in the great and marvellous work of conversion and sanctification. He clearly believed, ~~and told the world~~ as he wrote in another TRACT that revival was "that glorious work of God, so often foretold in Scripture . . . shall renew the world of mankind".

Nor was the revival confined to those within the sound of his voice, for revival was going on simultaneously up and down the river towns. In Suffield Rev. Devotion preached its fire and Gillett's son, my ancestor Joseph then 22, was one of the 327 to feel the flames burning in their hearts. This youth was received as they into Devotion's church in the wake of that extended revival.

Skeptics of the day and later critics as well deplored, the excessive demonstrations of literally falling down under the power of conviction for sin, which sense of guilt they charged was less to God's power than to the power of suggestion, and guilt in acquiring wealth. Even Edwards condemned ~~the~~ revival excesses, for the masses INDEED seemed to have become deliberately manipulated by some preaching fanatics.

If explanation is needed, we might consider the following: The original Saints had succeeded in passing on its form of godliness, but this ill-fitted the fourth generation much as Saul's armor on young David, for the Philistine challenge required a sling and 5 stones, not a royal sword. While these Saints had imposed their own values and convictions, like "silken roses on the shoes," they had no power to free the young from inherited sin of the heart, and their acquired sins of the flesh. Their legalistic traditions

merely shackled these of the 18th century, in miserable bondage.

This new generation ~~yearnd~~ YEARNED for freedom to break those chains, for something to replace the cold logic of early Calvinism, something warmer, like assurance. And it sought it fervently. Then to receive in the Divine visitation ~~an~~ THIS assurance brought inexpressible relief and joy, so that excesses bursting from this sudden freedom from torment was indeed marked by wild fire.

In the Surprising Work of God Edwards described how grace was received by his parishioners, the most extravagent being loud laughing or weeping. But the emotions seemed to be sensible of the visitation of grace in some form of exquisite sweetness, focused in Christ's mercy, and the precious blood of the atonement, and its power to save.

But the joyous rapture was unmistakable. From his wife Sarah's own notes, he describes her renewal as "the soul was swallowed up in a kind of glow of Christ's love coming down as a constant stream of sweet light". She was a soul lost in God. This experience embarrassed Sarah's biographers, and they explained it away, as nervous prostration after bearing the fourth of her daughters.

~~24~~ year old

Then Edwards invited Whitefield to his pulpit in 1739, and he delivered 4 sermons; even Edwards wept, and he WAS ONE TO discourage~~d~~ religious demonstrations. Even so he was less impressed with the 24 year old evangelist than was Benjamin Franklin later that year upon hearing him preach to 20,000 in Philadelphia, although Franklin himself by his own testimony in old age remained unconverted.

In New England Whitefield preached 97 times in 45 days in 40 different towns - one of these being Suffield where lived my Gilletts and the Austins. Here at 11 o'clock on a Tuesday he preached to several thousand. In his Journal he ~~penned~~ WROTE about that October 1740

morning, "The Word came with great power". Jonathan Edwards was with him in that meeting. Nine months later Edwards returned to the area.

Benjamin Gillett's widow and mother of my Joseph was now 57, and only one of the many Gillets and Austins in Suffield the day Jonathan Edwards preached his most famous penned sermon, at Enfield across the river. It was "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God".

The day before this famous sermon, people from neighboring towns prayed all night for a visitation from God, for they perceived themselves loose, vain, and altogether too arrogant IN THEIR BELIEF IN SECURITY. Then they flocked in from everywhere to hear the famous preacher. The Suffield people ferried the 1000' river and walked the one-half mile into Enfield to hear Edwards read his sermon from manuscript, as he always had. In fact, he had preached this same sermon twice before, in his own territory.

Standing tall and dignified high in the pulpit, Edwards, fixing his gaze on the bell rope suspended before him, delivered the sermon in a quiet voice - almost monotone - to a congregation, weeping and moaning with a "great breathing of distress".

My humble ancestors in attendance left no written records of this momentous day, but Rev. Wheelock, later founder of Dartmouth, was present, and he reported that during the quiet but intense delivery, such piercing shrieks and anguished weeping ensued that Edwards paused to ask the congregation for silence, so that the message could be heard by all. Whereupon he continued to picture the tortures of hell most vividly. Did they realize less than a spider's web kept the sinner from dropping into hell; only the grace of God could rescue them from the bottomless pit?

Critics of revivalism became fond of dwelling on Edwards' word ~~pictures~~ PICTURES of the terrors of hell, but a reading of the sermon today

clearly shows that Sinners was not a message without hope. Critics fail to point out that the message offered the tender mercy of Christ, if only sinners repented. Edwards urged, "O sinner!. . . . now you have an extraordinary opportunity, a day wherein Christ has thrown [open] the door calling and crying with a loud voice to poor sinners . . . . And let everyone that is yet out of Christ . . . now hearken to the loud calls of God's word and providence."

Revival again swept New England with another great harvest of souls. ~~for the churches~~. It is believed that about 50,000 (out of a total population of 300,000) was added to the churches. Sweeping moral changes came out of the Awakening, however temporary. Their longevity appeared as sporadic as the revivals themselves. Nine years later, Even Edwards was mourning the spiritual coldness that was creeping into his parish.

Edwards was keenly aware of the uneven flow in the nature of revivals in his own parish. In one treatise, he cited "undiscerned spiritual pride" as hindering the work of God, stopping the flow of grace in Northampton. The essence of spiritual pride, God's most stubborn enemy, according to Edwards, is that it is the most secret of all sins, and most like the Devil its father. Only with great difficulty can it even be located in the hidden recesses of the heart.

It sees others' sins, not its own; it suspects others' motives, seldom its own. It is quick to notice opposition, interpreting these as persecutions. It loves to instruct; seldom inquires for its self. It commands and warns; seldom entreats. It wants to help everybody, but needs no help from anybody. It engenders a mind that guards itself against light, as it is full of light already, and needs nothing more. While these are Edwards' words, they do reflect the lukewarm self-righteous LAODACEANS OF REV. 3.

In contrast, Edwards pointed out, that the truly humble are more suspicious of themselves than of any others.

Spiritual pride, the antithesis of humility, affects judgement and leads to great mischief, like the fanaticism of the overzealous. These, assuming they were favorites of God, made them self-righteous.

In short, it appears that the original sin of undiscerned spiritual pride corrupting the divine nature in genuine Christian experience raised its ugly head as in the Garden, and caused these sudden converts to gradually backslide and grow cold, ~~as~~ AND The Spirit of God was gradually withdrawn from them.

2:10
3:15

UNEDITED COPY

PART ONE

TIME per pg 3 MIN
∴ MAX 13 PGS
CUT OUT 8

6:25
7:08

43 MIN,

A STUDY IN PURITANISM

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

The Story of Jonathan and Mary Gillett
and of their Geneva Bible

PREFACE:

This lecture on Puritanism comes in 2 parts. If todays lesson ~~sometimes~~ presents a "sorry" picture, I ~~need not apologize for~~ I can only report the times in which my ancestors and their fellow Puritans lived as I have found it ~~interpreted~~ in ~~page~~ recorded pages,

The second lecture grows brighter, ~~as God~~ THE HOLY SPIRIT CAME, ~~when~~ AFTER the best plans of earnest men seemed to fail, TO BREATHE INTO THE PURITAN WORLD A GREAT AWAKENING TO THE SOUL.

This lesson~~s~~ focuses on Jonathan and Mary Gillett. If they seem to get lost in overmuch history, not to worry, for they will ~~return~~ REAPPEAR from time to time - w/ Geneva Bible in hand, but w/o "silken roses on their shoes".

If in this lecture I have missed the finer points of Puritanism, let be hoped that, at least, I have captured for you something of its spirit, as played out in flesh and blood of this unknown Puritan pair, as I found it in history.

Between the lines.

1min 10 sec.

PURITANISM: FAITH OF OUR FATHERS
the Story of Jonathan & Mary Gillett & their Geneva Bible

INTROD

I am an 11th generation descendant of Jonathan Gillett who arrived on the first Puritan ship to anchor ~~off Cape Cod~~ IN MASS. BAY. ~~No~~, not the Mayflower; we missed that by 10 years, and Plymouth Rock by ~~20~~ 30 miles.

Jonathan arrived on the Mary and John, ~~a bachelor among~~ one of the 140 PURITANS passengers in search of a ~~new~~ Zion on earth, to occupy and do as God willed.

~~Studying the~~ NAMES ON THE family tree reveals our O.T. heritage - Aaron, & Isaac, Jonah and Noah - not Jewish, as Bible readers might suspect, but Puritan. Which in the 17th century was not all that different, for Puritans lived close~~d~~ to the Mosaic Code.

[Sometimes an unexpected CHRISTIAN name crops up in ~~family trees~~ pedigrees -, like Bygod. [Is this blasphemy, or what?] ~~But Bygod Egleston~~ HE had by 1865, 16,000 certified descendants from his 10 children; IF JONATHAN'S ~~his~~ neighbor of 50 years [hardby the meeting house ~~Jonathan Gillett~~] also had 10. It can be assumed [his descendants equalled that number. JON HAD LIKEWISE FROM HIS 10. It is therefore obvious that no one descendant should feel possessive of a ~~family tree~~. ancestor OF FAMILY TREE

HAD 16,000 cert desc by 1865 from his 10 ch

It has been calculated that fully 50% of the population in 1830 - (or 6 million Americans) that - ~~were~~ WAS descended from the 20,000 Puritans of the Great Migration - Puritan in blood, as well as manners and morals.

If your ANCESTRAL entrance to this country predates 1830, this story I tell is likely your story as well. I simply took time to look it up. Between the lines of a history text. Texts are skimpy and boring; AND BIASED; I should know, for I taught history in public high schools 24 years.

It is popular today for radio evangelicals, who ~~earnestly~~ desire to return to the basics of our founding forefathers, to lament the watering down of the American history, textbook. [They want history to be re-written from the religious point of view. With this I concur]

It is true as charged that some standard U.S. history texts do not mention the Pilgrims sacred to American origins. I had one of these in my personal library. [What a travesty! There is more to the Pilgrim story than a turkey feast with Squanto and Massasoit!]

Then I sent to Florida for a ~~history~~ highly recommended TEXT for Christian schools, [written from the Christian perspective.] The chapters on the spiritual foundations of America had much to say about both the Pilgrims and Puritans, all in a positive light.

What I noted however was the absence of our founding father's ruthless slaughter of Indians. Nor did it mention the persecution of the Quakers in the Bay Colony. Their text simply stated that the Quakers and Puritans "disagreed" on some points. INDEED!

This "disagreement" led to [slamming Quakers in the stocks,] boring their tongues through with hot irons to silence their gospel of the "inner light", [dragging them to death tied to a cart,] and even hanging some. TO SILENCE THESE ANARCHISTS TO THEIR AUTHORITY [by both Romanists & the rel Right]

THERE OUGHT TO BE MORE INTEGRITY IN RECOUNTING HISTORY — ON BOTH SIDES.

For me the skeletal names IN ~~on~~ my pedigree ~~charts~~ came to life like Ezekial's valley of dry bones as I PERUSED FRESH AND ~~pursued~~ yellowed PAGES ~~records~~, and DELVING ~~delved~~ into more than __ SOURCES. ~~books. on related matter~~. [I read them, and weep. I read them, and laugh.] NO LONGER ~~But I~~ do I ~~not~~ stare at these family ~~names~~ ~~any more~~ withOUT ~~no~~ feeling.]

Sometimes a line or even a word reveals a wealth of emotion. In reading from the Col. Records of Conn. the exact wording of the oath of office Jonathan uttered upon becoming constable of Windsor in 1665, I felt HIS SENSE OF DUTY AND FEAR ~~his fear~~. The oath began, "I doe sweare by the greate and dreadfull name of the everliving God . . ."

This "dreadfull God" was one of the major reasons the Puritans took ship to come to the New World. OH, SOME ~~They~~ dreamed of building a "city of God" as they perceived it. But some less altruistic fled Merrie England to save THEMSELVES ~~their rightous selves~~ from the impending wrath of Almighty God

thought about to fall on dear England for its folly and sins. Sins of Sabbath breaking, of extravagent dress, of lewd theaters, of Popish practices retained in the Anglican church, of horoscopes and books on how to MAKE pact with the Devil.

Little wonder Jonathan promised to "faythfully execute the office and place of a Constable . . . so helpe me God". For it was his duty to help Windsor to escape the wrath of an offended Deity by spying on, and reporting to MAGISTATES ~~prosecuters~~ the evil doings of his neighbors, to stay the whetted sword of the great Avenger.

It was a thankless task being constable. As Moses had made no provision for constables in his government, it remained for the freemen of the town to ANNUALLY appoint 2 ~~annually~~ of their number to serve in this unpopular capacity. Few wanted to serve twice, not even a Puritan! And Jonathan did not.

FAITH OF OUR FATHERS

Seventeenth century England's first interest in Mass. was more in ling cod for the supper plate than in any holy experiment; thus the fishing village of Salem was established. But the Puritan flight from JAS I made it more of a religious refuge than a business venture. DESPITE WHAT ECON HISTORIANS WANT TO WRITE.

Three weeks before Winthrop, the Moses of this Great Migration, anchored at Salem in 1630, the Mary and John discharged its 140 passengers at a place they would call Dorchester, now a part of Boston. Among them WAS ~~were~~ bachelor Jonathan Gillett. [and his brother Nathan.] My other progenitor aboard this ship was a family MAN by the name of MR. Phelps. His title spoke of the lesser gentry As many Puritans were, of that rank.

THEIR EXPEDITION WAS LED BY REV. JOHN WARHAM, AN ~~ORD~~ ANGLICAN ~~OF OXFORD~~ WHO HAD BEEN SILENCED BY BISHOP LAUD FOR HIS PURITAN VIEWS.

It is true that Jonathan and Nathan would not receive land under England's primogeniture law, for their father, the Anglican ~~Rev. Gillett,~~ rector at Chaffcombe would bequeath it to their oldest brother William. They may have been land hungry for the brothers ~~both~~ became yeomen on American soil.

DANGER TO ~~BE~~ PURITAN

It is true that their shire's weaving mills shut down, for France no longer demanded woollens but looked to something more fashionable.

¶ But the~~se~~ bros men as many after them had a dream, a point some economic historians conveniently overlook. It was of a New Jerusalem, the perfect society here on earth, ~~here and now~~. In the New World.

Once on land, JON ~~the Gillett brothers were~~ WAS assigned to live with A famili~~es~~y for it was the Puritan way to monitor morals of all, especially the ~~unattached.~~ SINGLES.

To this end Puritans, ~~were~~ more Hebrew in spirit than Christian ~~in spirit~~ as Calvin taught MAN'S ~~main's~~ moral depravity required external controls, ~~They~~ made laws, perhaps MORE THAN ~~as many as~~ Moses' 620.

For (It had become dangerous to be Puritan SIN England, ~~for~~ They held views not practiced by the Anglican Armininians, and even secretly clandestinely attended unapproved chapel services instead of the State ~~established~~ Church of England. In time 20,000 packed their chests with austere clothes ~~and~~ fled, leaving a Gomorrah ~~behind a~~ yet unpunished. ~~nation for~~ Surely the WICKED world WAS SOON TO END; was coming to end. Even SIR Isaac Newton (1642-) WOULD WRITE wrote more on the Apocalypse than on science.)

So many, that ~~when~~ dissidents fell out with the established church in Boston, notably Roger Williams who protested the notion of Church and State being one and the same, and that other heretic Anne Hutchinson who questioned the clergy's ability to determine who and who not WAS ~~was~~ among the "elect." Both were banished, she to seek refuge in the Dutch colony's more ~~Holland's~~ tolerant clime where Indians massacred her and most of her family on Long Island. N.Y. ~~It is likely that~~ IN BOSTON Jonathan PROB. knew them both, and ~~certainly~~ ALSO that other famous dissident, REV. Thomas Hooker.

But before he joined the HOOKER CONNECTION ~~Connecticut plantation~~, JONATHAN he went back to England, but soon returned with Rev. Warham's niece as bride, and a ~~grand~~ Geneva Bible. [FOR THE KJV did not please the Puritans).

[& the belief that God's will could be discerned only thru the Bible which was to be interpreted by a certified clergy, not thru any personal revelation of the Spirit.] It was Calvin's translation, n1599 smuggled into Eng & this copy had escaped confiscation & burning by Bishop Laud.

FOR THE KJV DID NOT SIT WELL W/PURITANS; AFTER THEY ALL THEY WERE FLEEING FROM JAS. I.

Dissidents ~~Rev.~~ Hooker and ~~Rev.~~ Warham ~~managed to survive and even thrive by keeping out of sight and out of the way, by taking~~ TOOK their congregations ~~and putting~~ 100 wilderness miles ~~between the Boston oligarchy and~~ TO the Connecticut River where they set out to establish~~ed~~ ~~some new New Jerusalems~~ / NEW ZION.

~~Like Boston,~~ ~~these~~ THEIR river towns hoped to build ~~a New Testament~~ an Israel ~~ish nation~~ based A NEW JERUSALEM ~~church~~ on the New Testament form of church government - a ~~brotherhood~~ BODY of believers casting lots with a show of hands ~~on~~ for decision making.

From this ~~concept~~ NOTION of ~~the~~ congregationALISM ~~form of church government came the~~ evolved the town meeting seed~~s~~ of democracy (A), for it was believed a righteous ~~laity~~ people had no need~~ed~~ ~~no~~ of Pope or bishop~~s~~. or any ~~other hierarchy~~ AUTHORITY HIGHER THAN THE GENEVA BIBLE.

With these ~~keys~~ tools the Puritans hoped to perfect a Christian society, here and now in this howling wilderness.

Laws of this new Puritan State would be enacted to support all that the church aimed to perfect. Thus Church and State were one, a kind of theocracy after the manner of Moses. And this new State would find its guidelines in the Mosiac code, With one important addition — the governed should be governed by the consent of the governed. ~~But it did not turn out that way in the end, nor did it~~ This did not mean "democracy" as know it, ~~for~~ as Winthrop ~~souly~~ TESTILY remarked, Democracy did not exist in Israel. Rev. John Cotton believed that democracy was not fit to govern either Church or State. ~~Over~~ In Connecticult Rev Hooker ~~and Warham~~ disagreed, Somewhat.

Of course the governed being naturally sinful like ~~the Gillett brothers~~ JONATHAN & MARY must be put into godly shape by the church, and ~~the~~ ordained clergy like REV. UNCLE Warham and Hooker - with or without the consent of the governed. Hebrew law and British liberty - could ever the twain meet? Not in England, certainly, but here in New Eng. - 3000 mi from the Merrie, 71 days between their coasts? Yes, God, and not incidentally the clergy, willed it.

Before Jonathan and ~~his wife~~ Mary left the Bay Colony for good, ~~and~~ about the time their twins were born, they were admitted to the Dorchester CHURCH congregation IN FULL COMMUNION ~~as full communicants~~, after a satisfactory public testimony of their conversion experience in regeneration.

Now as visible Saints, they demonstrated their election by their godly walk - meaning conformity to Puritan rules in every detail, [for the church thought it possible to recognize a Saint by his walk & testimony.]

They fervently believed, though did not fully understand, the cardinal tenents of Puritan theology which (2 ~~(1.~~ stressed most of all the sovereignity of God, [past and present; that He created and controls; that nothing happens contrary to His purpose.] (3 ~~(2.~~ that the Bible - [THE BIBLE THEY MEANT ~~by this they meant~~ the cherished Geneva ~~Bible~~ on the MANTLE ~~stand~~ in their thatched cottage near Fox POYNT ~~Pointe~~] - was the ultimate authority, THAT GOD'S WILL ~~this~~ COULD BE DISCERNED ONLY THRU IT & THAT IT WAS TO BE INTERPRETED ONLY BY CERTIFIED CLERGY. ~~the revealed will and God's secret will, and that it contained all truth;~~ thus PERSONAL ~~private~~ revelation was ANATHEMA ~~in error~~ as Anne Hutchinson and ANY Quaker ~~s~~ should have known. (1 ~~(3.~~ ~~and they~~ believed in original sin, human depravity and THE irrestible grace of God Almighty. (OVER) →

In the BAY COLONY ~~Massachusetts~~, Jonathan took the oath of freeman, for church membership and only this granted him the vote. The franchise, of course, never applied to Mary.

In Connecticut to which Jonathan led his GROWING family, the law was to liberate somewhat the franchise. The Fundamental Orders said any freeman, churhed or not, could vote. This landmark in American democracy became the basis of the U.S. Constitution to come 144 years later. But even here upon taking oath, the ~~newly~~ freeman swore to uphold orthodoxy, and beliefs in the Trinity, and to swear that he was not atheist, Quaker or Jew. [The framers of the 48 Const made no provision for an est. Ch, nor did it remained for each of the 13 new sts to

[After the birth of the twins, Jonathan led his little family to ~~the village~~ ~~Windsor on the~~ Connecticut.] JON. ~~For he~~ had discovered that the New Jerusalem was not in the Bay Colony after all. Perhpas [Perhaps it was elsewhere, MAYBE IN WINDSOR. ~~it was taking shape in the river towns of Rev. Uncle Warham and Rev. Hooker.~~ AND SO HE CAME, WILLING ~~EAGER~~ TO TRY AGAIN]

4. THEY ALSO BELIEVED THAT A PEOPLE, NATION SHOULD HAVE A COVENANT WITH GOD TO KEEP HIS LAWS, & GOD IN TURN WOULD BLESS THEM — THE EARLY EQUIVALENT OF THE MODERN DAY GOSPEL OF HEALTH & WEALTH. THUS, THE COMMONWEALTH — A CIVIL STATE WHOSE LAWS WERE SUPPORTED BY THE COLLECTIVE POWER OF THE CLERGY — LIKE REV. UNCLE AND OTHER DIVINES — WHOSE POWER ALONE COULD NOT CARRY OUT THE CONTRACT WITHOUT THE FORCE OF GOVT. CHURCH MEMBERS WERE TO ELECT. ~~THEIR~~ RULERS & SUBMIT TO THEM LEST THEY BE IN REBELLION AGAINST GOD. QUAKERS, FOR EX, DID NOT; THUS, THEY WERE SEEN AS ANARCHISTS.

Here in Ct transplanted Englishmen made laws similar to those of deare England - hanging for witches, buggers and murderers; jail for debtors, public flogging for any number of offenses, for Puritans had ~~did~~ not clatter down the gangplaks in buckled shoes and starched small ruffs to kiss American soil and thus become Americans. They were and remained Englishmen- pease porridge pot, and all.

The Fundamental Orders imposed stiff penalties for harboring heretics in the home [- this meant mostly Quakers- or for even possessing Quaker literature.] Laws banned the wearing of "silken roses on the shoes." Since my people of Windsor were yeomen, dungING ~~ers of~~ rye fields, [high steppers about steaming cow pies in the WINTER ~~steaming~~ barnyard], this BLUE law may not have pained them overmuch, as it did the more elegant Puritan grandees (for worldliness & pride had now begun to creep in

Private emotional pain to this worthy ancestor Jonathan was less harsh to bear than the public humiliation of stock, [pillory] and whipping. post. AND ~~For~~ with solemn righteousness he AND had his fellow citizens erected these instruments of cruelty. In front of the meetinghouse to be used against offenders, - [after a proper trial and conviction, of course. Adults and children caught it alike.]

It was death for sodomy, even if it meant sending ~~dragging~~ the parson's stepson ~~to the~~ gallows, ~~from the manse~~, and it did. For Rev. Uncle ~~Warham~~ preached, as all the other divines, that the sodomite must be sent to his death. [Other Mosaic abominations inclded those trafficking with the Devil and witches ~~ghosts~~, sun and moon worshipping, whoring and cross-dressing, Sabbath greaking.] Although Puritans were careful to vigorously apply execution to selected Mosaic codes, ~~taboos~~, it conveniently disregarded others, such as slaughtering swine [for bacon grease to dribble on their daily bread], and the weaving of MIXED FIBER ~~linsey-woolsey~~ to clothe their backs. WITH LINSEY-WOOLSEY.

But buggery! So they condemned Rev. Uncle's stepson, and hanged him from the gallows. The bugger was 18, and his name was John. And nevermore did the family mention his name. again

~~Thankfully my ancestor~~ Jonathan was not constable of Windsor that year; his appointment came ~~afterwards~~ LATER. As constable he was obliged to see that all punishment was properly carried out. One local couple was punished for contempt and battery. The man lost his franchise. His wife having no precious franchise to xxxx strip away was stripped of her clothes. The lashes ~~were~~ laid on her naked body.

Fornication was punishable by fine, OR public ~~whipping~~ FLOGGING, or prohibition to ever marry. AT ALL! This latter threat should have dampENED the fiercest ardor of young Romeos and Juliets, but failed to discourage overmuch the pair hauled into court for bastardy. The offending lover paid the girls' parents a goodly sum, after which his cheek was branded with a hot iron. The Court further mandated that one of my ancestors - not Jonathan but the magistrate Mr. Phelps, see to it that some form of punishment was inflicted upon the girl for concealing her embarassing condition so long. The couple, now properly humiliated, was court ordered to marry.

One of Jonathan's constable duties wes to report all Sabbath breakers to the magistrates - those who picked apples, or shaved, or cooked victuals on the coals on the Lord's Day. It was his duty to snoop. And he had to report those who did not attend Sabbath worship, for their punishment, as mandated by law.

These cruel punishments by today's standards were not peculiar to the New England Puritans, of course. Similar [barbarous punitive] measures were a way of life in Europe as well in this same time period.

Somehow the Puritans failed to see that the pages of Holy Writ reported ~~did not showed even Deity's~~ LITTLE success in controlling the behavior of sinners on earth. IN BIB. TIME

Which oversight never stopped an ancient Israelite or the early Puritan guardians of public morals from trying. Hanging, branding, cropping ears, the bloody whipping, the messy tar and feather job.

But these towers of cruelty were to crumble and fail, like the tower of Babel, leaving the Puritans confounded and humbled BY UNCONQUERABLE WICKEDNESS which only a great spiritual awakening would remedy — however short lived, — as we shall see. And Rev. Uncle's ~~Warham's~~ great-grandson would be one of the mortal moving forces in this unfolding drama — Jonathan Edwards.

We now come to the concern that our Puritan fathers had for their children and wives.

Perhaps few were as lenient in family discipline as Cotton Mather, pastor of Boston's North Church. He spent a hour every day with his young ones. He did not believe in the use of the rod; he gave or withheld a sweetmeat for reward or punishment. ~~PERHAPS~~ HIS LENIENCY CAN BE CHARGED TO THE FACT THAT ONLY 6 OF HIS 15 CHILDREN SURVIVED TO ADULTHOOD.

He was also ahead of his time in educating his offspring. He equipped the nursery for reading and writing, heard ~~the~~ HIS children's catechism on Mondays, and read their written prayers. On Saturday evening he took them into his study, to talk and pray with each alone. He allowed his children to choose their own studies. He even encouraged one of his daughters to study medicine, as he had done at Harvard where his father was President.

Cotton himself was a remarkable scholar, learned in 7 languages. As writer he defended the Copernican theory, and offered the first colonial explanation of Newton's theory of physics. He published hundreds of books on many subjects, including medicine and botany, leading to his membership in London's prestigious Royal Society.

But he did not succeed with all his children. His keenest disappointment was in his son Cresy. One may read in Mather's diary this father's anguish.

[Filled with distress, he prayed for the Lord's grace to be given to the profligate.] When the PROFLIGATE lad was 18, he cried "Oh my God, what shall I do? I will not yett utterly cast off the wretched child . . . There may be yett unknown Reserves of Mercy". But he did cast ~~him~~ CRESY out of the parsonage in hopes his reverend grandfather might have better succeed ~~with~~ IN his pious upbringing. Then he penned, "Lord, tho' I am a Dog, yett cast out the Devil, that has possession . . . (of) my ungodly hardhearted son . . ." Upon learning that prodigal Cresy had perished at sea enroute to Barbados, he lamented as King David had over the rebellious Absalom: "Ah! My son, my son, is lost, is dead, is gone!".

Perhaps this anguished lament serves to illustrate the keenest of many Puritan dilemmas: - the Puritan believed on one hand that the sinner was utterly helpless to do anything to save himself, and would be utterly rejected by Christ unless he was born of God; yet on the other hand even before this same sinner ~~sprang~~ ISSUED from his mother's womb, God had from eternity already foreordained his salvation by election.

This paradox affected Puritans differently: some agonized over the uncertainity of their election; others felt secure, as divinely destined ~~destined~~ for a glorious eternity with God.

The common ru~~le~~ of ~~the~~ prolific progenitors like Jonathan AND MARY ~~Gillett and Bygod Eglestone~~ would NOT have this time, temperament or enlightment to nurture each child individually, but still ~~these~~ THEY would OFFER tender their infants for baptism and tenderly care for them when disease and accident brought them low, fasting and praying earnestly as did Cotton for God to ~~ap-~~ spare their little lives, in His will.

Under Connecticut's blue laws, rebellious children were assigned to stern guardians who could and would control them, if parents could not; this meant boys until the age of 21, girls until 18.

The same Code provided for schools. The Connecticut preamble began: It being one chief project of that old deluder Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures . . . it is therefore ordered by this Court . . . to teach all children . . . to write and read . .

There you have it! [The express purpose of sending Puritan tads to school was]-to keep them one step ahead of the Devil, to arm them with the sword of the Lord of Hosts!

So the Gillett children learned their letters from the hornbook at ~~school in~~ the cottage school of Mr. Branker, who held a M.A. from Oxford, as most early divines and their assistants ASSOCIATES had lettered at Oxford ~~and~~ OR Cambridge before coming to America. These earnestly promoted education here, both grammar and collegiate. Harvard was established to educate the clergy, as was Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth ~~and Rutgers~~ to come only a little later.

Had the Gillett children not learned the practical points of colonial law in Branker's school, they would have done so at the [pillory and] stocks on the village green, [even before their father Jonathan was appointed constable.] They would have seen the Connecticut Code at work, first hand. Immediately. Keenly. For adultery, blasphemy,

thieving, lying. And had they not known that Rev. Uncle's stepson was hanged for sodomy. The older ones remembered as well the hanging of Alse of their ~~own~~ village as a witch.

~~As for~~ lying, it was a "foule and gross sin". All convicted liars 14 and up received a half dozen stripes laid on by a delegated hand. At the public pillory on the village green. On Wednesday, after the regular midday church lecture when a sizeable assembly was around to witness the humiliation.

Lying children of tender years received their ~~rod in~~ STRIPES privately by parents, in the presence of two witnesses. On the naked body. If the home failed to cooperate, the town constable, even their own papa, took up ~~the~~ THAT obligation.

The fact that Jonathan's one wife Mary lived to be 78 was testimony to her good health, and endurance in childbearing~~, as well.~~ Many Puritans, as did Cotton, had two or three wives due to the uncertainties of frequent childbirth - every other year - without benefit of contraceptives or modern medicine. A woman's limit was 9 or 10 babies, if she did not die in childbed earlier. ~~Worn out with constant being~~ ~~child bearing~~ ~~brought to childbed with sons and daughters~~, and infant caring~~, many~~ mothers died in their 20s a early thirties.

Small wonder that here in Windsor as in other New England towns, nearly 60% of the church memberships ~~was~~ CONSISTED OF POWERLESS females despite early childbed deaths ~~to childbearing~~. And the perils of childbearing that may have been one of the very reasons, for the frequency of being brought to childbed with sons and daughters increased her anxieties about death and eternity, a preoccupation which Mather saw as the Curse TD ~~of Subjection and of Child bearing~~ " which the Female Sex is doom'd unto, [but] has been turn'd into a Blessing by the Free Grace of our Most Gracious God. [FOR] God Sanctifies the Chains, the Pains, the Deaths . . . ."

Another Boston divine, Rev. Colman said, the "Curse pronounc'd upon our first Mother Eve turn'd into the greatest Blessing to Your Souls . . . Your frequent Returns in Your own Apprehension towards the Gates of Death, by which we all receive our Life, suitably leades youx to a returning serious Tho'tfulness for your Souls and of Your Spiritual State".

Despite St. Paul's injunction for women to keep silence in the church, we know they testified publicly in the meeting house regarding their regeneration experience, for this public confession of faith was necessary to receive church membership.

Many Puritan women read the Bible through annually - Maria Mather twice yearly. Cotton's own daughter Katharin read the Bible in Hebrew, for her father taught her. Dr. Increase Mather's wife prayed regularly six times daily — in secret. Her son Cotton often said good mothers travailed twice — once in physical birth for each child, and again for its spiritual rebirth.

A puritan marriage was a civil contract, not church sacrament or ~~even~~ covenant. A civil authority ~~magistrate~~, the justice of the peace, performed the ceremony - by mandate. Thus magistrate Mr. Phelps could marry a couple, but Rev. Uncle could not.

Seating in the plain meeting house then was by gender segregation, for mingling of eexes in the pews was considered distracting for worshippers during prayer and sermon. . ~~But~~ later ~~when~~ married couples were assigned to pews together, AS marriage seemed to receive more ecclesliastical support. ~~For~~ The WIFE ~~female~~ was ~~now~~ VIEWED seen AS ~~more of~~ a help-meet from Adam's rib, an equal. as it were, ALTHO THE HUSBAND CLEARLY WAS TO GOVERN This imageryof equality was O.T. - like ~~the~~ 2 milch kine yoked to carry the Ark of God, ~~the~~ yoke-fellows. How they squared this with the "subject" wife remains to this observer something of a mystery, for of the 7 duties of husbands and wives delineated by the meetinghouse, 6 were ~~creip~~ reciprocal; like cohabitation but this seventh was solely the MALE PEROGATIVE — ~~different~~ - the husband clearly was to govern.

Puritan divines often preached long sermons on redemption as a marriage to Christ, comparing it to the civil contract, — as wives submit to man, so man submits to God. Females by nature seemed better suited to be the "bride of Christ" as they could easily identify with obedience to Christ; males had trouble with this as it required a reversal of his dominant role. Also men seemed less inclined to take on the virtues [the parson preached from ~~their~~ his pulpits -] of meekness and patience, subjection in spiritual dependence to the shepherd, ~~farx~~ ~~like~~ as Rev. Uncle ~~Warham.~~ preached.

[This may account some studies show for the fact that the Puritan church was topheavy in female membership.]

The great age of Mary Gillett's longevity was, in part, testimony that she had not fallen among the "strange" women, for these stood in real danger of being charged with witchcraft. And things attending childbearing every other year consumed a mother' reserves, causing herto act a little out of mind, like talking to herself in the turnip patch ~~sometimes~~, with none about to hear but the local ~~gossip~~ scold who inflamed the villagers with ~~the~~ gossip that she had heard Goody So and So pulling turnips and talking to ye Devil - who else?

But it remained for poor Alse down the street in Windsor to be the first in all New England to be executed for witchcraft, [even before Boston got to rounding up its own witches.] Nor was poor Alse the last, for seven years later Lydia Gilbert was charged with having "killed the body" of Henry Stiles, although every militiaman in Windsor, had witnessed that the Allyn boy accidentally discharged his musket into Good~~man~~ old Stiles ~~stodgy frame~~. But it was Lydia, not the Allyn boy, who went to the gallows, for somehow casting a spell.

Although Goody Gillett had suffered the hardships of 2 emigrations, of two Indian wars, of travail in bearing ten children in the wilderness, and of losing two of them to Indian massacre, she had been spared this greatest indignity, of all — but ~~for~~ she never mentioned a swoon after childbirth, nor reported the apparition of anything black seen by candlelight,

and if worms ate a live hen's gizzard she kept it to herself. And so escapted the onus of witch suspicion.

Some Salem women in the Bay Colony SUFFERED A SIM. FATE ~~fared less well~~, for 19 were hanged, after conviction by the Courts. So familiar is that sordid story that it need not be detailed here except to mention that the Salem WITCH trials involved fewer people [and were more brief in duration] than in similar trails in Europe. [In England alone 30 witches were executed in the 5 years between 1648-53; during Puritan Cromwell's Protectorate, only 6 — which number increased with the restoration of the Crown to Charles II.]

It is probably true that a Mather publication stimulated the witchcraft hysteria, and that both Mathers lent their support to the delusion - at first. Historians like to blame them, but fail to mention that these same divines - somewhat tardily - assumed the responsibility for calling a halt to this reign of terror. Nor do they mention the fact that the Judge of the CONVICTING court publicly repented his role in the IA trails, that he wrote his confession and stood in humiliation before the ~~Old~~ South Church congregation while it was being read. Or THAT thereafter that he annually observed a day of humiliation and prayer, for God's forgivennes for his part in the witch scourge.

Goody Gillett's twin son Cornelius sat on the Grand Jury at Hartford on a witch trial OF AN ACCUSED. [Most earlier charges and convictions had been directed against females for bewitching farm animals and beer in the barrel, and other things dear to a man's heart and hearth, and usually it was men who testified against these accused WOMEN. ~~crones and~~

[This time a man named] THIS Hugh feely admitted his pact with the Devil, and testified that he had signed the Devil's book in blood. The Court ruled that Hugh was an "ignoraamus", and released him after paying ~~his~~ a fine to the jailor. [Does this cawe point to differences in gender treatment in witchcraft accusations? [in this 17th century male dominated ~~society~~?] [You be the judge.]

But one of Windsor females who held her own was Rev. UncleS ~~Warham~~'s exceptionally clever daughter, Cousin Hester. Not shy or uncertain as her melancholy father the parson, she lived to ~~a~~ great age in Northampton to match wits and knowldge with the theological Mathers and other divines of the day.

For at 16 she married a Mather, Cotton's uncle, and when he died at their parsonage she promptly married his successor, the celebrated Dr. Solomon Stoddard. StoddardS LIBERAL STAND ON THE SACRAMENTS came to take a liberal stand on the sacrament. He concluded that since nobody could be sure who was "elected" by grace (Anne Hutchinson's position a gneration earlier), it was unnecessary to demand a public testimony of the conversion experience to partake of the Lord's communion. The Boston Mathers, Hester's former inlaws, took exception to this interpretation - that the sacrament COULD BE was a converting ordinance. More schisms CREATED ~~ensued~~ which continued to batter THE ~~a~~ church already listing from earlier ~~ones~~ DISSENSIONS.

Cousin Hester was mistress of THE ~~Northampton's~~ manse for over 60 years and when she died at 96, her Gfrandson Jonathan Edwards now NORTHAMPTON'S pastor preached her funeral. At least one of the Edwards biographers believes that the well documented genius of this remarkable Edwards family came from Cousin Hester Stoddard, daughter of the melacholy parson of Windsor, Rev. Uncle Warham.

WHO

During the 17 years that Jonathan GILLETT served as juror in Windsor, judging ~~a kind~~ his fellowman, a kind of righteous judgement befell him - or so it was believed by those whoheld that Indian troubleS was punishment from an offended God. He lost two sons in King Phillip's War.

From the beginning Gov. Winthrop thought it a good thing to bring the Indian into the kingdom of God, but Puritans found it easier to usher the natives into Kingdom Come with muskets and with fire.

Jonathan and Nathan Gillett had hardly settled on their own Indian acres in 16 , when Pequots took to the warpath with bow and tomahawk.

Down in New Netherland, the Calvinist Dutch got along wInd somewhat better than New England Puritans, for they cheerfully left them to their heathen ways, not trying to Christianize them, although they GOT TITLES TO too bought Indian lands with fishhooks and trinkets. In my progenitor Mr. Phelps' case — 4 COATS.

After a chaplain's prayer, the Connecticut Puritans marched out to smote the Pequots hip and thigh. Two of my Puritan KIN from this place are known to have soldiered in this war - brother Nathan Gillett and a progenitor named Barber. With sword in hand Sgt. Barber fought valiantly side by side with his Captain, and THEY cut in pieces this enemy as Samuel had hewn Agag to pieces before the Lord in Gilgal.

The Captain then called for firing the Indian fort. In 1 hour 400 Indians were torched in flaming wigwams, or ruthlessly shot in trying to escape, or surrender. As The Captain lost only 2 of his 250 men, He felt compelled to justify the slaughter by O.T. references to King David's slaughter of Philistines k foes of God Almighty.

But that war had ended 38 years ~~earlier than~~ BEFORE King Phillip's War. Missionary John Eliot NOW had 4000 praying Indians when ~~that~~ A MAJOR war broke out. IN 1675
= ~~This~~ "King Phillip" was ~~none other than~~ the son of Massacoit who with Squanto saved the Pilgrims at Plymouth with GIFTS OF SEAFOOD AND CORN; ~~sefood catches and corn cultivation.~~ When Chief Massacoit died and was succeeded by Metacomet, dubbed King Phillip by the Pilgrims, the Indian situation became critical for the new chief had noted that Puritans far outnumbered Indians in his tribal lands. He organized armed resistance. Within 3 years he destroyed one-half of the English towns, and 1 of every 16 white males.

As a result of the Deerfield massacre, a Confederation of 4 New Eng. colonies united for defense, for now Indian uprising had become general throughout. DURING THIS TIME Clergy everywhere called for a Solemn Day of PUblic Prayer and Humiliation to supplicate the Lord for mercy, for success in quelling the insolent ~~natives.~~ INDIANS.

They Clergy were ~~also~~ charged with seeking out those sins in the community which had brought down the Lord's wrath. Despite a round of repentance, Indian reprisals continued. A son of Jonathan's was cut down by the tomahawk; the grandchildren carried away into captivity.

Morals were EVEN more rigidly enforced - "kill devei" rum was banned; so was tavern shuffleboard, ~~dice~~, and dancing. New England searched its conscience. Was this retribution from God due to men wearing wigs of women's hair? For allowing Quakers to dwell among them? [Who among them even dared to consider their steady SQUATTING usurpation of Indian lands?]

IN DEFENSE Puritans continued to fire wigwams ~~and~~ UNTIL ~~burn~~ whole families were burned alive; even Cotton Mather reported that 600 Indians were "terribly barbequed".

In the end King Phillip lost his head; and a son of Jonathan's lost his as well. I suppose poor ambushed Joseph's head was buried with his body at Deerfield AFTER THE MASSACRE. As for King Phillip - his head, after he was drawn and quartered, was placed on a pike and displayed at the Pilgrim's plantation for many years. As a warning.

Had no one discovered the New Testament in New England? It must not be supposed, as some biased historians semm to infer, that there was neither Christ nor Trinity in all New England.

Richard Mather's letter to Rev. Uncle ~~and~~ CALLED his congregation ~~was~~ called - "the Church of Christ at Windsor," [and was signed "Your loving brother in Jesus Christ".] Across the great river, East Windsor's first pastor, Rev. Timothy Edwards (father of Jonathan Edwards), in one of his papers [acknowleged "the most Great and dreadful God, the Eternall Jehovah", but in the same paper also] acknowledged the Trinity, and said "there is no way to obtain Mercy, and Salvation, but Only by faith in the Righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the Eternal Son of God, and the alone Saviour of Sinners . . ."

Richard Mather's grandson, Rev. Cotton often ~~referred to~~ tenderly SPEAKS OF Christ in his famous diary [- "I will adore His Glorious Christ as the Son of God

. . . Oh! my Conformity to My Glorious Lord Jesus Christ, it is, how agreeable! how desirable!" In a listing of 70 sermon texts from which this divine preached in 1709, alone, I ~~found~~ NOTED that 48% came from the N.T.

Even ~~in~~ the oath which Jonathan took as constable - an incident with which we began this narrative - acknowledges Christ; he recited that day in 1665, "so helpe me God, in the Lord Jesus Christ". But even this SIMPLE ~~humble~~dyeoman of the soil, [of little power and few possessions,] perhaps found it easier to be more THE LEGALISTIC Pharisee WHICH IS NATURAL than ~~Christian.~~ A FOLLOWER OF CHRIST WHICH REQUIRES THE SUPER-NATURAL.

And so my 17th century Puritan ancestors Jonathan and Mary remained a SIMPLE ~~humble~~ couple invisible TO ~~in~~ history books; texts; [I found them only by long and patient searching]

But in their day they numbered among the visible Saints. They walked circumspectly, somber ~~as become a peculiar people,~~ [in Puritan garments intended to glorify God, subjects of two British kings] THE ~~and~~ followers of Calvin and dear Rev. Uncle their shepherd for __ years. Saints they were, not of the Papacy whom they feared, but earthy as of the soil; not celibate but prolific in progeny to populate this New World, with Followers children of God, it was hoped.

Unlike Rev. Uncle who meditated overlong on [the finer points of] Puritan theology and in the constant searching of his soul (and those of his NEIGHBORS congregation) for signs of grace, his niece Mary bore 10 children and fed them peason porridge, and turnips from gardens she herself tended.

As for Goodman Jonathan he grovelled less as a worm in the dust but got himself up to horse and rode to the grist mill for corn for Goodwife to make his daily bread. Not that he neglected HIS ~~the~~ daily sanctification, the walk that becomes God's elect, but like other yeomen of the soil PERHAPS scrutinized the standing of his soul less often than the hides of his livestock for dangerous mites. ~~and infections~~. ¶ Thus he was saved from overmuch preoccupation with sin as melancholy divines, and perhaps because of it had more peace of mind.

When Jonathan laid down his cross and scythe in 1622 to take up his crown, the new New Jerusalem of THAT ~~those~~ early Puritan vision~~s~~ had not yet materialized. Nor would it ever be built - by mere mortals.

And so passed on this Puritan ancestor with ~~no earthly idea in his~~ cropped round head he was helping in his modest way to create a new American nation. He died without a clue that he was a "colonist," for the word was not yet coined. FEW CLUES HE WAS EITHER PURITAN OR COLONIST; He probably never called himself a Puritan - that remained for historians. He ~~himself~~ knew only that he had been baptized ~~sprinkled in the baptistry in~~ AT his parson father's Anglican parish. BUT THAT HE HELD DIFF. VIEWS IN PART.

He knew himself a planter, but He felt himself IN THE END a pilgrim looking for a city, not built with hands as Boston Mather's "Citty set on a Hill", but one whose ruler and maker is God.

Goody Gillett died the day before Epiphany, 1685, a visible Saint to the end, not given to independent thought as ~~a~~ heretics, for she ~~had~~ remained a securely folded sheep in Windsor obeyED the voice of the earthly shephered of her soul, Rev. Uncle. and then ~~she~~ trusted Christ to bring her into a better land

She left the cherished Geneva Bible to her children - a Bible thought to be the infallible guidebook for establishing a kingdom of God on earth. But alas! she had learned in the course of her long life that IT the Good Book SPOKE ~~said~~ different things to different men, for she had seen these differences divide the churches, and HOW ~~with~~ those schisms scattered her children to other settlements and to other Scriptural interpretations.

21
-12
9

Handed down from hand to hand these 12 generations ~~and more~~ by family members, that Geneva Bible has come to be called "the Bear Bible" by descendants of this Puritan pair, for once in some new wilderness it was placed on the sill of an open window AND used to prop open a cabin window. A marauding bear in passing by gave it a mighty swipe with its claws.

Puritan Walter Fyler build a humble cottage in 1640 near the village green not far from Jonathan's own cottage. Miraculously preserved these centuries, this Fyler house is now the home of the Windsor Historical Society.

4 YRS AGO WINDSOR HIST SO

In 1990 ~~this Society~~ received the Gillett "Bear Bible" to display in its museum, the Fyler house.

This fall I hope to see this Geneva Bible edition of 1599 whose TEACHINGS inspiration brought Jonathan and Mary FROM ENG with this IDENTICAL ~~same~~ book in hand ~~from England~~ to begin a holy experiment in the name of God. ~~and Calvin~~.

If in this lecture I have missed the major points of Puritanism, let it be hoped that I, at least, have captured for you something of its spirit AS PLAYED OUT IN REAL, FLESH + BLOOD, OF THIS VIRTUALLY UNKNOWN PURITAN COUPLE in the struggles of ~~humble~~ ~~adherents~~ ~~like~~ Jonathan and Mary — ~~Gillett~~, as I have found IT in history. ~~Between the lines~~.

Between the lines.

40
-12
52 MI

notated with marginal references to the Scriptures to prove that it was in harmony with the Word of God. Cotton's handiwork—usually known as "Moses his Judicialls"—was not adopted by Massachusetts but in 1639 the New Haven settlers appropriated the Cotton Code in its entirety and it served as the fundamental law of that colony until it was merged with Connecticut.

The so-called Connecticut Blue Laws, an elaboration of "Moses his Judicialls," were enacted by the Saints of New Haven in 1656. The Blue Laws prescribed the death penalty for blasphemy, idolatry, witchcraft, murder, false worship, incest, adultery, sodomy, bestiality, man stealing, giving false witness, reviling the magistrates, and the cursing or smiting of parents by children over sixteen years of age. Bibliolatry could scarcely be carried further: even the standard measurements for beer casks was determined by reference to Deuteronomy.

The law decreeing death for "a stubborn and rebellious son" was designed not only to punish the offender but that "others may hear and fear." In New Jersey, where Puritan influence was strong, a similar law was enacted. The Scotch Presbyterians, even more thorough-going in their Calvinism than the New England Puritans, went beyond them by providing, in 1661 that any

> sonne or *daughter* above and of sixteen years not being distrated [demented] who shall beate or curse their father or mother shall be put to death without mercy.

These laws have helped fix the image of the Puritan as a blue-nosed, nasty-minded hypocrite and they give credence to the story that as soon as a New England child was able to master words of five syllables he or she was taught to spell "for-ni-ca-ti-on." Granted the Puritans' obsessive concern with sin, the Blue Laws do not prove that the New Havenites were particularly bloodthirsty. In England, during the reign of James I, 31 offenses were punishable by death whereas New Haven had only 14 capital crimes. Even so, those who did not walk the straight and narrow way were well advised to give New Haven a wide berth.

John C. Miller: The First Fro[illegible]er: Life in Col Am. : DPL

917.3032
M615fi

III. RHODE ISLAND

To the Puritan mind, the two most important things about religion were "the purity and the unity thereof." They did not traverse the Atlantic to establish the principle of religious freedom: they sought freedom only for themselves. In their Zion there was no place for a Tower of Babel where all creeds and opinions might be heard. Among a group as deeply committed as were the Puritans to a Heaven-directed mission to the wilderness, rampant individualism could not be tolerated. Moreover, frontier conditions always put a high premium upon social solidarity and group effort.

In theory, New England Puritanism was a monolithic creed that admitted of no dissent. Based upon immutable truths derived from the Word of God, the Puritan church-state and communal way of life were regarded as the ultimate in holiness. The Reverend John Cotton declared that Jesus Christ would approve of all the arrangements in Boston, and John Winthrop, surveying the wonders wrought by the Almighty in New England, exclaimed that he desired no more till he arrived in Heaven.

Imbued with the conviction that there was One Truth just as there was One God, the Puritans pursued unremittingly their ideal of uniformity of thought and conduct. In Connecticut, Massachusetts Bay and New Haven they achieved a large measure of success. Rhode Island, however, went its own way—and in almost every respect its direction was opposite to that followed by the rest of New England.

And yet, Rhode Island was founded by a Puritan. Roger Williams exemplified the aspects of Puritanism that were suppressed elsewhere in New England: extreme individualism, democracy, the complete separation of church and state, and the endless splintering process? that always threatened to convert the Puritan movement into a chaos of competing sects. Like Governor John Winthrop and the Reverend John Cotton, his principal adversaries, Roger Williams resolved all questions by reference to the Bible, he was orthodox in his conception of the Trinity, and he accepted the doctrines of predestination, the depravity of man, and infant damnation. He believed that all his acts were approved by "the greatest and wisest politician that ever was, the Lord Jesus Christ," and he regarded the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth as the main purpose of human existence. In Providence, Rhode Island, he tried to establish a community dedicated, like that of Massachusetts Bay, to fostering the community of the Saints. His methods, not his objectives, differed from those who condemned him to exile.

Williams's insistence upon religious freedom—the point wherein he departed most radically from the practice of Massachusetts Bay—proceeded originally from his conviction that the Visible Saints, whom he regarded as the happy few of the community, must be preserved from the contamination of the unregenerate majority. To his way of thinking, this end could be achieved only by keeping the civil government wholly out of the affairs of the church and by rigorously segregating the elect from the unregenerate mass of the people. By compelling church attendance and outward religious uniformity, the state, in Williams's opinion, produced a "racking and tormenting of souls" and filled the Church with hypocrites. The Massachusetts Bay Puritans, on the other hand, assumed that the regenerate minority could be preserved from pollution only by forcing church attendance and taxation for religious purposes upon every member of the community and by using the power of the civil government to punish heresy.

After his banishment to Rhode Island in 1636, Williams underwent a complete change of mind upon several of the issues that had brought him into trouble in the Bay Colony. Whereas in his earlier quest for purity he had separated himself from his congregation and, for a time, even from his wife, and had restricted church members to a handful of Visible Saints, he now threw open the doors to all Christians. In Rhode Island, he preached to and prayed with everyone who came to him. From the most rigidly exclusive of the New England Puritans, he became the most liberal and inclusive. He decided that there were many paths to Heaven and that every man must be free to choose his own way. Until such time as truth should be made manifest by further revelations, he demanded "a Liberty of searching after God's most holy mind and pleasure." At one time, he declared himself to be a Baptist but no organized church could long contain his Heaven-oriented spirit. Eventually he dissociated himself from all churches and became a "Seeker."

To one principle, however, he consistently adhered: church and state must be wholly separate and the state must not be permitted to exercise any kind of spiritual authority over the individual. In Rhode Island, as long as Roger Williams's influence endured, the power of magistrates was limited to matters concerning "the Bodies and Goods and outward state of men." The doctrine of the separation of church and state owes more to Roger Williams than to the Massachusetts Bay Puritans.

Not Quakers!

Despite his uncomfortable proximity to Boston, Roger Williams made Rhode Island a bastion of religious freedom. Jews, Roman Catholics and Turks, he declared, were welcome in Providence. Nor did he draw the line at Indians: "Nature knows no difference," he said, "God having of one blood made all mankind." He was equally liberal as regards the suffrage. Although he did not value political liberty as an end in itself, he advocated democracy for the same reason that he became a Seeker—because only in a free society could men truly seek God. To this end, he

established manhood suffrage and made office-holding the prerogative of all citizens. In 1647, the Rhode Island Assembly declared:

> The form of government established in Providence Plantations is Democratical, that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants.

Rhode Island became the most democratic of all English colonies founded in the seventeenth century; indeed, in the nineteenth century some American states were less democratic than Rhode Island had been under Roger Williams.

Williams supposed that religious and political freedom, restrained by the sober good sense of the people, would produce an orderly society. But Rhode Island attracted religious eccentrics in whom sober good sense and love of order were conspicuously absent. Dreamers of Utopia and founders of new religions abounded and few of the prophets and prophetesses lacked for converts. Samuel Gorton, for example, preached a doctrine of mystical union between Christ and the regenerate soul, and he stoutly maintained that his opinions were not his own but came directly from the Holy Ghost. Unfortunately, the message was too garbled to get through to any but Gorton and his disciples; as one of them said, the master's books were "written in Heaven, and no one could read and understand them unless he was in Heaven."

In contrast to the uniformity that prevailed in Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and New Haven, the colony founded by Roger Williams resembled a crazy quilt of strange sects, many of which were persecuted everywhere except in Rhode Island. Some of the local Messiahs made Roger Williams appear orthodox and old-fashioned by comparison. In the end, the anarchy that made Rhode Island a byword in other colonies proved too much for Williams himself. Like many other revolutionaries, he was dismayed by what he had wrought. "We have long drunk of the cup of great liberties," he said in 1653, "as any people that we can hear of under the whole heaven" but experience had taught him that "these freedoms have made men wanton and forgetful, and it may be that though we enjoy liberties of soul and body, it is license we desire." In 1669, 14 years before his death, he remarked that his brain was "worn and withered" as a result of 30 years of struggling with a stubborn and misguided people.

After Roger Williams's death, Rhode Island settled down to more orderly—and less democratic—ways. Property qualifications for voting and office-holding were gradually increased. The Quakers, Jews and Baptists who had found refuge in Rhode Island imposed their own brand of uniformity upon their communicants. Protestantism, the dominant faith, took advantage of its position in the Rhode Island Assembly to disfranchise Roman Catholics and debar Jews from holding public office. As Williams had feared, the trinity of "Profit, Preferment, Pleasure" established its dominion, and land became an object of veneration. And, during the eighteenth century, Rhode Island merchants became deeply involved in the slave trade while domestic slavery provided the labor force for the cattle, dairying and horse-raising industries of the Narragansett planters.

Even so, the diversity of religions that characterized Rhode Island—some even arrived at the ultimate terminus of individualism, a church of one member—ensured the perpetuation of religious freedom. With the colony divided into a multitude of sects, it was impossible for any one denomination to gain unquestioned dominance. Rhode Island was one of the last places on the American continent where the ideal of religious uniformity could gain lodgement.

Throughout the colonial period, Rhode Island remained decentralized, hostile to a state-supported church, and jealous of local rights. Until 1647, each town went its own way, and even after a central government had been established, the exercise of its authority depended upon the cooperation of the towns. Long after the American Revolution, Rhode Islanders preserved the suspicion of outside authority derived from their early experience as an "out-

cast people" constantly threatened with invasion by their powerful neighbors.

Bibliography

Benton, Josiah H. *Warning Out in New England.* Boston: W. B. Clarke Co., 1911.
Greene, Evarts B. *Religion and the State.* New York: New York University Press, 1941.
Miller, Perry. *Errand into the Wilderness.* New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964.
———. *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1933.
———. *Roger Williams: His Contribution to the American Tradition.* New York: Atheneum Press, 1962.
Morgan, Edmund S. *The Puritan Dilemma.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1958.
———. *The Puritan Family.* Boston: Trustees of the Public Library, 1941.
Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The Intellectual Life of Colonial New England.* New York: New York University Press, 1956.
Paige, L. R. *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630–1877.* Boston: H. O. Houghton & Co., 1877.
Powell, Sumner Chilton. *Puritan Village; the Formation of a New England Town.* New York: Doubleday & Co., 1965.
Simpson, Alan. *Puritanism in Old and New England.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
Wertenbaker, T. J. *The First Americans.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1927.
Winslow, D. Kenelm. *Mayflower Heritage.* London, 1957.

THE QUAKER WAY

THE ideal of returning to the pristine purity of apostolic Christianity—one of the strongest incentives for the proliferation of new sects in the seventeenth century—played an important part in the founding of eight English colonies in North America: Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, New Haven, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. In this effort, Puritans took the lead, but the Quakers (more properly, the Society of Friends), even though they started later, succeeded in establishing three colonies and extending their influence over several others, particularly Rhode Island, where, in the 1670's, a Quaker was elected governor. By the Friends' reckoning, true primitive Christianity was to be found in New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island and nowhere else—certainly not in Massachusetts Bay or any other Puritan stronghold.

Quakerism was one of the 175 or more sects that emerged from the underworld of Christianity—the region of the poor and disinherited—during the period of the Civil War in England. Most of these sects vanished without leaving a trace, but Quakerism, owing mainly to the proselytizing fervor of its founder, George Fox, who proclaimed "a golden age at hand, under the name of Christ and the saints," survived as a small, downtrodden religious society composed chiefly of craftsmen, cobblers, weavers and tenant farmers "impoverished by long troubles."

In 1646, after having experienced a personal revelation, George Fox began to preach a mystical form of Puritanism. He taught that revelation was a continuing process and that God still spoke to men as He had spoken to the proph-

ANNOUNCING THE NOVEMBER 17-18, 2000 QUAKER THEOLOGICAL DISCUSSION GROUP

from Chas Orvelles

Grand Ol' Opry Hotel • Nashville, TN
AAR/SBL Additional Meetings

ALL ARE WELCOME!

Friday, November 17, 2000: 7:00-8:30 p.m. (Johnson A)

Session #1: "Pre-Publication Review of *Evangelical Quakerism—Its Roots in Scripture and Tradition* by John Punshon"

Presiding: Stephanie Crumley-Effinger (Earlham School of Religion)

Introductory Comments: John Punshon (Earlham School of Religion)

Responses: Arthur Roberts (George Fox University)
Carole Spencer (George Fox Evangelical Seminary)
Gayle Beebe (Spring Arbor College)

Author's Response and Discussion

Saturday, November 18, 2000: 9:00-11:30 a.m. (Polk B)

Session #2: "Uses of Scripture by Early Friends—Is There a 'Quaker Hermeneutic'?"
Presiding: Paul Anderson (George Fox University)

On George Fox: Ronald Worden (Houston Graduate School of Theology)

On Robert Barclay: Dean Freiday (Catholic and Quaker Studies)

On George Keith: Julie Dodds (Garrett Evangelical Seminary)

On Samuel Fisher: Timothy Seid (Brown University)

On Elizabeth Bathurst: Mary Garman (Earlham College)

On Dorothy White: Michael Birkel (Earlham College)

Responses: Hugh Pyper (University of Leeds)
Karen Jo Torjesen (Claremont University)

FROM QUAKER RELIGIOUS THOUGHT #96
VOL. 30, #1

"HANGING AS A FLAG": MARY DYER AND QUAKER HAGIOGRAPHY

DAVID L. JOHNS

INTRODUCTION

Governor Endicott: "You will own yourself a Quaker, will you not?"

Mary Dyer stiffened. "I am myself to be reproachfully called so."

The jailer exclaimed, "She is a vagabond!"

Governor Endicott continued, "The sentence was passed upon you by the General Court and now likewise; you must return to the prison and there remain until tomorrow at nine o'clock; then from thence you must go to the gallows, and there be hanged till you are dead."

Mary Dyer did not flinch. "This is no more than what you said before."

Governor Endicott: "But now it is to be executed; therefore prepare yourself tomorrow at nine o'clock."

Mary Dyer: "I came in obedience to the will of God to the last General Court desiring you to appeal your unrighteous laws of banishment on pain of death; and that same is my work now, and earnest request, although I told you that if you refused to repeal them, the Lord would send others of his servants to witness against them."

Governor Endicott: "Are you a prophetess?"

Mary Dyer: "I speak the words that the Lord speaks in me and now the thing has come to pass."

Governor Endicott: "Away with her! Away with her!"

Led through the streets sandwiched between drummers...Mary Dyer walked to her death....Some of the followers...[pleaded] "Mary Dyer, don't die. Go back to Rhode Island where you might save your life. We beg of you, go back, go back! Go back and live!"

Raising her voice above the hammering of the drummers, she said, "Nay, I cannot go back to Rhode Island, for in obedience to the will of the Lord I came, and in His will I abide faithful to death."

...close to Frog Pond by the great elm tree in Boston Commons, the drums were quieted and Captain John Webb spoke up. Turning to the agitated crowd in justification, he said, "She has been here before and had the sentence of banishment upon pain of death and has broken the law in coming again now. It is therefore she who is guilty of her own blood."

Mary Dyer spoke in contradiction, "Nay, I came to keep blood-guiltiness from you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous and unjust laws of banishment upon pain of death made against the innocent servants of the Lord. Therefore, my blood will be required at your hands who willfully do it." "But, for those who do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my father, and in obedience to this will I stand even to death."

As her neck snapped, the crowd stood paralyzed in the silence of death until a spring breeze lifted her limp skirt and it billowed in response. General Atherton cracked the silence, "She hangs like a flag," he said. A chorus of voices repeated, "Ay, she hangs like a flag." And one strong voice continued, "She hangs like a flag for others to take example from."[1]

"She hangs like a flag for others to take example from."

In this article I propose to examine Mary Dyer but not in order to further our understanding of her as a historical figure. Rather, using her as a model and an occasion I intend to look at the *theological question of religious regard for the saints* and ask whether Quakers possess a *notion of sainthood* and *a hagiographic tradition* (since it is unlikely that one exists apart from the other). Far from being a Roman Catholic question, any tradition that functions according to, or in conversation with, a formative narrative is a tradition that is potentially guided by human lives. At its best, this is precisely what the saints are and how their memory functions in practical terms. And while the Scriptures, the language of the Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit who inspired the Scriptures have all been formative for Friends since their inception, I contend that there has been an implicit (if not actually explicit) notion of the saints operative within the Religious Society of Friends.

Narrative approaches to the Christian life may be built upon the story of the Scriptures, of course. However, an important narrative approach to the moral life, it seems, is an examination of lives that embody, or more theologically—*incarnate*—the values embraced and pursued. Lives of heroic virtue have provided, and continue to provide for Quakers, a narrative for structuring community life and for initiating neophytes into the faith. Hagiography in both its general and in its particularly Quaker expressions functions *as example* by establishing a pattern of faithfulness. It is an *incarnationally contextualized* expression of holiness. Since the first Christian saints were the *martyrs*, it makes sense to begin a discussion of Quakers and the saints with Mary Dyer: the most famous of Quaker martyrs.

MARY DYER AND QUAKERISM

It is clear that like the first proclamation of the Easter message the message of Quakerism in America is linked inexorably to women. Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, the first Quakers in Boston, arrived in July of 1656. They came not to settle nor to colonize but to preach as they had in Barbados, and as Fisher had with Elizabeth Williams, to the students at Cambridge University. Of course, the Boston magistrates were well aware of this troublesome sect, the Quakers, and promptly jailed Fisher and Austin and sent them back to Barbados as quickly as possible. Apparently, the greatest threat posed by these women, and a threat that was to be confirmed as legitimate later in the Boston magistrates' protracted difficulty with Mary Dyer, was the disruption of a kind of civil order that was characterizing the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Soon laws were passed penalizing ship captains for even transporting Quakers to Boston.

Anne Hutchinson, like Roger Williams, succeeded either by accident or design in infuriating the Puritan leadership of Boston. Hutchinson was convinced of Puritan thought by John Cotton. However, while most of the New England Puritans would say with Thomas Hooker, Thomas Shepard, and Peter Bulkley, that human beings could prepare their hearts for the moment of the Spirit's regenerating work and that this "preparation for grace" was an essential stage in the order of salvation, John Cotton stressed the gracious and even arbitrariness of God's regenerative work. Hutchinson

admired Cotton and eventually with her family followed him from England to the New World (he in 1633, they in 1634).

Hutchinson was an articulate supporter of Cotton and the *Covenant of Grace*; she was an equally outspoken critic of the *Covenant of Works*. At Cotton's request, she held meetings in her home attracting many women and even the newly elected governor, Sir Henry Vane. These meetings became successful to the point of concern for ministers and magistrates alike. Somewhere during this period Mary and William Dyer migrated to New England and settled in Boston.[2] Anne and Mary became friends rather quickly and Mary became a regular participant in the so-called "Antinomian" gatherings. But Hutchinson was cast out of the Boston Church in 1638 for "infecting" others with her "erroneous and dangerous" opinions and for engaging in activities not "fitting for her sex." How might she have been regarded had she sided with the *Covenant of Works*? Obviously, Hutchinson's theological convictions carried political significance; however, it appears that the activities troubling Governor John Winthrop and others were theological, and perhaps even pastoral. Even her words as she left the Boston Church after being cast out carry a more clearly theological tone: "The Lord judgeth not as man judgeth. Better to be cast out of the church than to deny Christ." Apparently, "denying Christ" here would have meant not recognizing revelations that came to her, not acknowledging her giftedness to speak to the gatherings at her home, not affirming grace over works. I call attention to this because the scene is quite different in the case of Dyer, where her activities are more clearly direct and intentionally confrontational acts challenging laws and decisions. As Hutchinson was banished from the Boston Church, the trial ministers having turned their backs on her, Mary Dyer grasped her hand and walked with her from the church, thereby further identifyng herself publicly with Hutchinson.

From here we can sketch an outline of Mary Dyer's travels and activities essentially as follows:

Dyer moved from Boston with Hutchinson to Newport, Rhode Island. In 1643 Hutchinson, along with her entire family (save one daughter), was murdered in an Indian attack. Seven years later (1650) Dyer traveled alone to England and remained there for several years. While in England she became involved with the Seekers and finally with Friends, spending a brief time at Swarthmore Hall with Fox himself. Thus, her spiritual journey consisted in a move from Puritanism, to antinomianism, to Seekers, and finally to Friends. Dyer returned to Boston in 1657 and was imprisoned due to her affiliation with Quakers. She was released into the custody of her husband, who had to promise that she would not preach and that she would leave the colony.

Just prior to her return, the General Court of Massachusetts had passed its first anti-Quaker law preventing Friends and their books from entering the colony and extending a fine to ship captains who transported Quakers to Boston (1656). Ineffective in stemming the immigration tide, the court passed additional legislation: first, legislation that imposed heavier fines and the cutting off of ears and boring of tongues for "repeat offenders" (1657). Finally, in 1658 a law was passed that banished Quakers from Boston "under pain of death."[3]

In 1659 Dyer learned of two Friends imprisoned in Boston, so she returned in order to visit them. She was aware of these new measures but intentionally defied them. She was imprisoned but was soon released with the others (September); they were warned that should they ever return to Boston they would be executed. Dyer returned to Boston a few weeks later and was imprisoned. Her 18-year-old son begged for his mother's life, and an agreement was made. Dyer would be taken to the gallows and would watch her companions die. She would then be given a reprieve at the last moment, and so it was. In October 1659 she first watched William Robinson die. Next, Marmaduke Stephenson was hanged. These two had traveled to Boston to "bear witness against the persecuting spirit existing there." With the noose around her own neck, Dyer was reprieved and given 48 hours to leave Boston, never to return. After she returned to Boston yet again she was condemned to die on May 30, 1660, and was indeed finally hanged on June 1.

A tenacious commitment to challenging unjust laws? A death wish? An antinomian disregard for law and civil order? A desire for or a sense of call to martyrdom? Whatever the case, the impact of her memory far outlived the immediate reach of her actions: precisely the function of saints.

THE MESSAGE AND MYSTERY OF THE SAINTS

Recognized saints have existed for thousands of years and they appear in traditions other than Catholic Christianity.[4] Anabaptists have long recorded stories of early Christian martyrs and accounts of their own martyrs from the 1520s through 1660 in the massive collection, *The Martyr's Mirror*, resulting in a type of reverence for those who sacrificed their lives for the cause of faith.[5] More recently, the "Order of Saint Luke" (established 1946), a liturgical renewal movement within the United Methodist Church, has published a calendar of saints to be used as "part of a cycle of prayer" or as a "devotional volume for personal or corporate use."[6]

Elevating persons to sainthood in Catholic Christianity is no mere quaint practice of the past. During the pontificate of John Paul II more people have been beatified and canonized than the combined total for all the other twentieth-century pontificates, including for the first time the beatification of a Native American[7] and the canonization of a Jewish convert who died in the Nazi death camps.[8] Now, some twenty years into his pontificate, he has beatified eight hundred persons and has canonized two hundred and seventy-nine (from Pius X [1903-1914] to John Paul I [33 days in 1978] the total of beatifications was 79 and the total of *canonizations* was ninety-eight).[9]

But why should such efforts be made? What roles do the saints play within theology and religious life, and how valuable are those roles? And, considering Mary Dyer, does the Religious Society of Friends have a notion of sainthood, despite its eschewing of hagiographic traditions? Does it possess or exercise its own hagiographic tradition, and what, if any, would be the significance of establishing such a claim?

In the biblical texts the word *saint(s)* (a variation of *hagio*, Greek, or *sanctus*, Latin) appears one hundred and one times, sixty-two of these occurrences are found in the New Testament texts, primarily in the Pauline and the deutero-Pauline writings. The word appears in the book of Revelation more frequently (thirteen times) than in any other book. In the Pauline material *saints* is used in the salutation as the preferred title for the faithful in four out of the seven uncontested letters (Romans, I and II Corinthians, and Philippians) and in two of the remaining six "contested letters" (Ephesians and Colossians). The way in which the word is used is indicative of an early Christian position concerning all the faithful.

Its use in Philippians 1:1a is typical:

> Paul and Timothy, servants of Christ Jesus,
> *to all the saints in Christ Jesus* at Philippi...

And from Romans 1:7a:

> To all in Rome who are loved by God
> *and called to be saints...*

The designation "saint" is applied to all the faithful indicating both *what they are* AND *what they are called to be.*

However, before the end of the first century of the Christian era, the designation "saint" was increasingly attached to those who died for the faith: that is to say, the *martyrs.* These women and men were revered as models of faithfulness, whose lives pointedly asked: "How far are you willing to go?" This nearly exclusive identification of the saints with the martyrs began to decrease after the toleration and eventual acceptance of Christianity in the Roman Empire, although martyrs continued to inspire, and at least in the case of the Donatist controversy [fourth century], to provide a formidable critique.

The book of Acts records the martyrdom of Stephen. It is important to note that this narrative in Acts 7 is remarkably parallel to the structure of Luke's account of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. This becomes an important model for subsequent Christian accounts of martyrs as well. Preceding the execution is a trial, which becomes a moment of Gospel proclamation that the "Son of Man will be seated at the right hand of the mighty God" (Lk. 22:69). Stephen declares: "Look...I see heaven open and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56). Both Jesus and Stephen cry out in the midst of their sufferings during the actual execution for divine forgiveness for the executioners: "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing" (Lk. 23:34); "Lord, do not hold this sin against them" (Acts 7:60b). Thus, to the very end, the martyr is one whose faith holds steady, and who, even in dying unjustly, blesses.

This is curious. Ruth Plimpton has written a popular but detailed biography of Mary Dyer. In her telling of the story, as Dyer stood trial she affirmed that she had come to Boston to "do the will of God" and that she had come to save them from "bloodguiltiness ...because of the unrighteous and unjust laws." When asked whether she was a prophetess she answered: "I speak the words that the Lord

speaks in me and now the thing has come to pass..." but she was cut off and taken away. At the place of execution she exclaimed: "Yea, I have been in Paradise several days and now I am about to enter eternal happiness." And to her captors she said: "But, for those who do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them."[10] It appears that a pattern similar to the Lukan is operative here.

John Stratton Hawley offers some insight in understanding the theological significance of the saints to Christian faith. He uses three terms: "example," "fellowship," and "aid."[11] These characterizations are taken from the Vatican II document on the Church, *Lumen Gentium* 51:

> Let the faithful be taught, therefore, that the authentic cult of the saints consists not so much in the multiplying of external acts, but rather in the intensity of our active love. By such love, for our own greater good and that of the Church, we seek from the saints "*example* in their way of life, *fellowship*, in their communion, and *aid* in their intercession."[12]

I will discuss briefly the second and third first and then return to the saint as "example."

Fellowship. The notion of sainthood is closely related to community. The saints together comprise a *communio sanctorum* in which they are for the faithful that "great cloud of witnesses" of which the writer of the Hebrews speaks. "The term 'communion of saints'... has two closely linked meanings: communion 'in holy things (*sancta*)' and 'among holy persons (*sancti*).'[13] They are God's family, a divine society giving nourishment to the living faithful who may actually commune with them. They are a *communio* in that the living faithful may look to them as ones who have experienced the human condition fully as human beings. They are a *communio* in that they bridge time, past and present. John Coleman notes that

> The conviction is that in their heavenly state the holy dead remain concerned that we walk a path similar to theirs in our fragile lives. This sense of a past that continues to live serves to enlarge and vitalize the present and to impregnate it with drama and possibility....As the letter to the Hebrews (Heb. 11:1-4) indicates, the possibility of our becoming saints hinges on there being saints before us.[14]

Thus, the saints form a fellowship, a *communio*, a family, which together draws the living faithful toward their vocation of becoming saints, that is, preparing to be *like* and *with* them—a communio *sanctorium*.

Aid. The second word Hawley uses to characterize the saints is "aid."

> Prayer and petition constitute a major element in any ethnology of religion. Their aim is often not only what we would normally consider greater moral adequacy but greater well-being in general, for the hearers of these prayers are persons, not principles. As living beings they potentially superintend a greater range of behavior than that designated by "ought."[15]

The saints have long been regarded as ones who intercede on our behalf and to whom we may pray. *Lumen Gentium* 49, for example, affirms that "those in heaven are more closely united with Christ, they establish the whole Church more firmly in holiness, lend nobility to the worship which the Church offers on earth to God, and in many ways contribute to its greater upbuilding."[16]

We may now return to *Example*. Hawley notes that "example" may be understood as either "an instance, an illustration, a case in point," or as a "paradigm that sets the shape for a series of imitative phenomena that follow in its wake. It is a model, a prototype, not merely an example but an exemplar."[17] In the first instance, the saint is the one who exemplifies the virtues that are known and embraced by the Christian community. The saint may embody a particular virtue or perhaps several, but always she or he will be regarded as an example of holiness. This view of saint-as-example, according to Hawley, is a *deductive* conception of sainthood. In other words, the saint achieves his or her status because she or he simply exemplifies those things that are generally taught and accepted. The virtues and qualities that the saints embody thus precede them.[18]

On the other hand, Hawley speaks of an *inductive* conception of sainthood. "[The saints] can be seen as models, persons from whom one can learn patterns of life for which no principle or code can serve as an adequate representation."[19] He sees this inductive conception as being more important in appreciating the centrality of saints. As an exemplar the saint not only *does* but *is*, not only is this a matter of *praxis*, but also of *ontology*. Thus, rather than simply being a model of a faithful follower of particular moral codes, the saint as exemplar

becomes the *Christopher*, the one who carries Christ. It is more than the saint's actions that are critical for the living faithful, it is the saint's entire way of being in the world; through the saint's *imitatio Christi*, the saint re-presents Christ. This role, it should be noted, is not associated with an office, it is not assured by an ecclesial imprimatur, nor is it conferred upon the saint.

St. Paul's remarks to the Corinthian Christian community may sound presumptuous given contemporary moral ambiguity but he captures the essence of the saint's life and relationship to the living faithful: "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ."[20] The "presumptuousness" of this claim is what makes it interesting. Clearly, the impact of his statement is all the more stunning in our own time that is so given to moral relativism. However, St. Paul's words are a necessary (and I would hope, sufficient) corrective to the ever tempting allure of Pelagianism. The Pelagian error ought continually to be rejected not only because it was rejected by conciliar decision at Ephesus in 431, but because it fails to acknowledge adequately our radical dependence upon grace, upon the historical tradition, and upon the saints. Whether it appears in the "rugged individualism" form, the "autonomous self" form of Enlightenment rationalism, or even an ostensibly pious form of holiness that accentuates moralism over the Holy Spirit, Pelagianism would have us think that we are alone. "Be imitators of me..." is a reminder (sometimes a painful one at that!) that in matters of Christian faith and in living holiness, we are not innovators or leaders as much as we are followers. Hawley continues by arguing that

> Their personhood was the crux of the morality they taught—often implicitly rather than discursively—and what they sought to imitate and perfect was no specific aspect of the life of Jesus, as in later understandings of the *imitatio Christi*, but the unfallen Adam that waits to be rediscovered within us all. They were not examples typifying aspects of the whole, they *were* convincingly the whole....[21]

The saints are icons of Christ ("eikon," Greek, an *image of* or *window to*). It is a *life* that becomes supremely important, not disembodied ideals or principles, but a life. That the saints are offered for imitation is clear from the prayers offered at Mass on their respective feast days. Of course, it is true that some prayers among the "Proper of Saints" focus more upon the particular saint's *intercessory work* for the living faithful as is apparent in the Marian prayers.

However, many of these prayers identify an exemplary virtue and call the living faithful to an *imitatio sancti*. Many examples could be cited. One prayer goes beyond the others. This prayer is offered on October 4, the Feast Day for St. Francis of Assisi:

> Father,
> you helped St. Francis to reflect the image of Christ
> through a life of poverty and humility.
> *May we follow your Son*
> *by walking in the footsteps of Francis of Assisi,*
> *and by imitating his joyful love....*[22]

This prayer affirms that one may actually follow Christ by walking in the footsteps of St. Francis and by imitating him. There are two important assertions being made in this strikingly simple but theologically profound prayer. First, the prayer asserts that the saint, in this case Francis, has so closely followed the way of Jesus that to follow the saint is to find oneself following Christ. Is this not the implication of St. Paul's remark in I Corinthians 11:1, "Be imitators of me, as I am of Christ?" The second assertion is that holiness of life, sanctity, is *attainable* because it *has been attained already* by the saint; therefore, we may in confidence walk in the footsteps of our brother, Francis of Assisi. The saint exists as a flesh-and-blood symbol of hope for the living faithful as surely as she or he stands as a challenge.

Stanley Hauerwas summarizes this position by stating

> Christianity is a training in following a person, we can learn to "grow in the way" only by watching how others have learned to follow that person. Therefore, attending to the lives of others is not, as it is for other forms of ethics, simply one way among others by which we learn to grow morally. Rather, attending to the lives of the saints is for Christians the means of moral growth on which all other aspects of the moral life depend.[23]

FRIENDS AMONG THE SAINTS, OR SAINTS AMONG THE FRIENDS?

There are at least three major examples in Friends literature that indicate a notion of sainthood at work. The first example is evident in the writings of L. V. Hodgkin (Holdsworth, 1869-1954). In 1917 Hodgkin published *A Book of Quaker Saints.* Apart from its

intriguing title, the book has enjoyed a healthy publication record. Published in London by T.N. Foulis in 1917, it was reprinted the following year. In 1922 it was reprinted again by Macmillan. It was reprinted again in London by Longman, Green and Company in 1949, and once more in 1972 by Friends Home Service Committee. Even an abridged version was published by Macmillan in 1936 with the title, *A Little Book of Quaker Saints.*

Hodgkin wrote the book with children in mind and her concern reflects the ideas of saints as "fellowship" and "example." Their *humanness* is a comfort. "In this book are written the stories of some of the Saints who did not know that they were saints at all: they thought they were just ordinary men and women and little children, and that makes them rather specially comforting to us, who are just quite ordinary people too."[24] These Quaker saints serve a *pedagogical* function as well by instructing the young ("of various ages"[25]) in the virtues embraced by the Friends community.

One might be able to dismiss this book as an anomaly if the pattern were not so frequently repeated. Friends General Conference has recently published *Quakers on the Move.* Books of this sort are not rare in the Religious Society of Friends. Story books (*Obadiah the Bold*, Elizabeth Fox Howard's *Brave Quakers: A Quaker Story Book for Young Children*, et al.), Betty Hockett's Life Story Mission Series (several titles, Evangelical Friends International), and even coloring books (*Color Me Quaker*, Friends United Meeting). Written for children, these books retell the Quaker story through the life stories of those who are worth imitating. The adult crowd may consider Elfrida Vipont's *A Faith to Live By* or David Lambert's *The Quiet in the Land: Some Quaker Saints Challenge Us Today.*[26]

Likewise, consider the 1996 *Worship in Song* hymnal from Friends General Conference. While I have some theological and liturgical difficulties with this work, it is rare to find a church hymnal with hymns speaking of figures other than God, Jesus, or biblical characters. This recent hymnal, however, includes songs about Margaret Fell, George Fox, John Woolman, the Valiant Sixty, and Lucretia Mott.[27]

The second example I would call to our attention is the *memorial.* In the memorial the life of a deceased Friend is remembered. This remembering is certainly a corporate remembering as the memorial is read at a Yearly Meeting session. But the memorial extends beyond the transient moment of an annual business session by being *in print.*

Not every deceased Friend is memorialized in this manner. While it would be preposterous to suppose that anything like a formal canonization process takes place in the Religious Society of Friends, nevertheless, some selection work definitely takes place. Who and why? Who indeed is exemplary? While the term "heroic virtue" is not commonplace in the Quaker lexicon, I wonder whether this criterion, or something akin to it, is at work in this process. And, is this *anamnesis* a recognition of the enduring presence of that Friend in the continuing life of the Religious Society?

Like the example from the prayer on St. Francis's day mentioned above, the mid-nineteenth-century *A Brief Memoir of Elizabeth Fry* concludes: "Such was the close of a life eminently dedicated to the service of God. To follow the example of which it sets before us must involve many a sacrifice of vain inclination and selfish desire: but how infinitely blessed is this course of Christian devotedness!"[28]

The third example I offer that is suggestive of a type of sainthood is the phenomenon of the *journal.* The journal is a spiritual biography (to some degree *auto*-biographical) recording the spiritual insights, ministry, and travels of select Friends. The journal is, I think, the major (although not the exclusive) theological genre in Quaker literature. Here again, there is not a journal for every deceased Friend; why for some and not for others?

The unpublished journal often was placed in the care of the meeting that *prepared it* for publication. Howard Brinton notes that this process was sometimes disastrous, however well-intentioned. Committees would omit portions of the journal if deemed nonrepresentative of the community's ideals, thus making the journal, in some respects, less a pristine expression of the spiritual experiences of a weighty Friend and more a pedagogical tool for the formation of character and ideas within the group.[29] Even so, the journal presents the ideals of the community of Friends, not in abstraction, but in flesh and blood.

William M. Thompson in his book *Fire and Light: The Saints and Theology*, enumerates several benefits to theology and to the Church when there is a serious conversation with the saints.[30] Perhaps the most obvious benefit of consulting the saints is that they embody an *experiential element of faith* that is sometimes missing from theology. This "experience" is a richly varied experience that is not at all limited to sense experience. "Experience knows many levels, including

that of openness to and communion with the Divine Mystery."[31] The presence of the saints in theological reflection "warms" theology to the lived and to the concrete, it opens theology to the human and to the incarnated and to the Incarnation. It is this lived experience (and openness to new experience) that gives depth and authority to the saint's words. The saint has not only drunk deeply from the springs of spiritual life, but she or he has done so with such intensity that his or her life becomes (embodies) the radiance of the life that is lived in it. It is a vision of the Christian life that is *lived*, it is a notion of Truth that is *embodied*.[32]

In addition to the attention to experience that the saints provide for theological reflection, the saints also embody a kind of *praxis* rooted in deep spiritual commitment and sensitivity. This focus may serve as a corrective to a theology whose propensity is toward theory and abstractions. The saints take theological reflection to a practical level. The saints have been engaged in society, they have incarnated Christ to the poor and the forgotten, they have worked for the alleviation of suffering, they have rebuilt the (C)church (as in the case of St. Francis of Assisi). Thompson writes: "In the most general sense, the saints and mystics provide us with a specifically Christian notion of praxis which is deeply aware of the God-dimension of praxis, avoiding and/or enriching some modern reductive notions of praxis."[33]

Finally, Thompson suggests that in utilizing the saints in theological reflection, they provide for the theologian an "appropriate" and a "critical" mediation. Theology is ever concerned with responsible and adequate ways of "contributing toward the contemporary actualization of the Christian tradition."[34] In other words, theology is concerned with making the Christian tradition alive in and for a particular time. To do this theologians must be about creative dialogue between the Church's tradition and the contemporary situation. "Appropriate" mediations are those mediations that assist in articulating the community's self-understanding as it is given in the tradition, its texts and heritage. "Critical" mediations are those that attempt to "correct inadequacies in the community's self-understanding, precisely for the sake of the community and its tradition. Expressed in a theological idiom, the Jesus Christ event requires of us that we be open to a correction of our community self-understanding precisely if we are to remain faithful to it."[35] Thus, the saints reflect an "appropriate" mediation as those who actually embody the tradition; they are living mediations bringing to life the dynamic interplay between the human situation and the received tradition. And, the saints are a "critical" mediation calling for correction, greater clarity, and development of the tradition, again as living mediations, ones who have become aware, awake, conscious.[36] "We return from the lives we have examined to our own lives; the examiners become the examined, and our claim upon our 'saints' becomes their many-sided claim upon us."[37]

CONCLUSION

The effectiveness of Mary Dyer's protests may be questioned. One more Friend, William Leddra, was hanged (1661) before the "under pain of death" law was repealed in 1661. Even after the cessation of hangings in Boston the *Cart and Tail Law* (the *Vagabond Act*, 1661) was passed and continued until 1665, and whippings continued for another dozen years (until 1677). Is it likely that Edward Burroughs, George Fox and Christopher Holder would have eventually approached the King about the persecutions in Boston? Would Charles II have ended the religious persecutions in Boston without Dyer's sacrifice? Probably, but not necessarily so.

Please do not misunderstand, I am not suggesting the Religious Society of Friends formalize a canonization process. The saints are quite capable of capturing our imagination apart from any formal process of recognition or ecclesial endorsement. What I am suggesting is that a notion of the saint, one whose life is lived with heroic virtue, one whose life is exemplary, a person according to whom we model our own lives, whose life we commend to our children and to our neophytes, this sort of person indeed exists in the tradition and the literature of Friends, and importantly so. Ironically, what I am suggesting is that a hagiographic tradition exists even among the at-times ecclesiastical iconoclasts.

Yet, why should we be surprised. According to Stanley Hauerwas:

> Like any skills, the virtues must be learned....For the Christian, morality is not chosen and then confirmed by the example of others; instead, we learn what the moral life entails by imitating another. This is intrinsic to the nature of Christian convictions, for the Christian life requires a transformation of the self that can be accomplished only through the direction from a master.

> The problem lies not in knowing *what* we must do, but *how* we are to do it. And the how is learned only by watching and following.[38]

On Boston Commons and otherwise, it is well-said of Mary Dyer:

> "She hangs like a flag...for others to take example from."

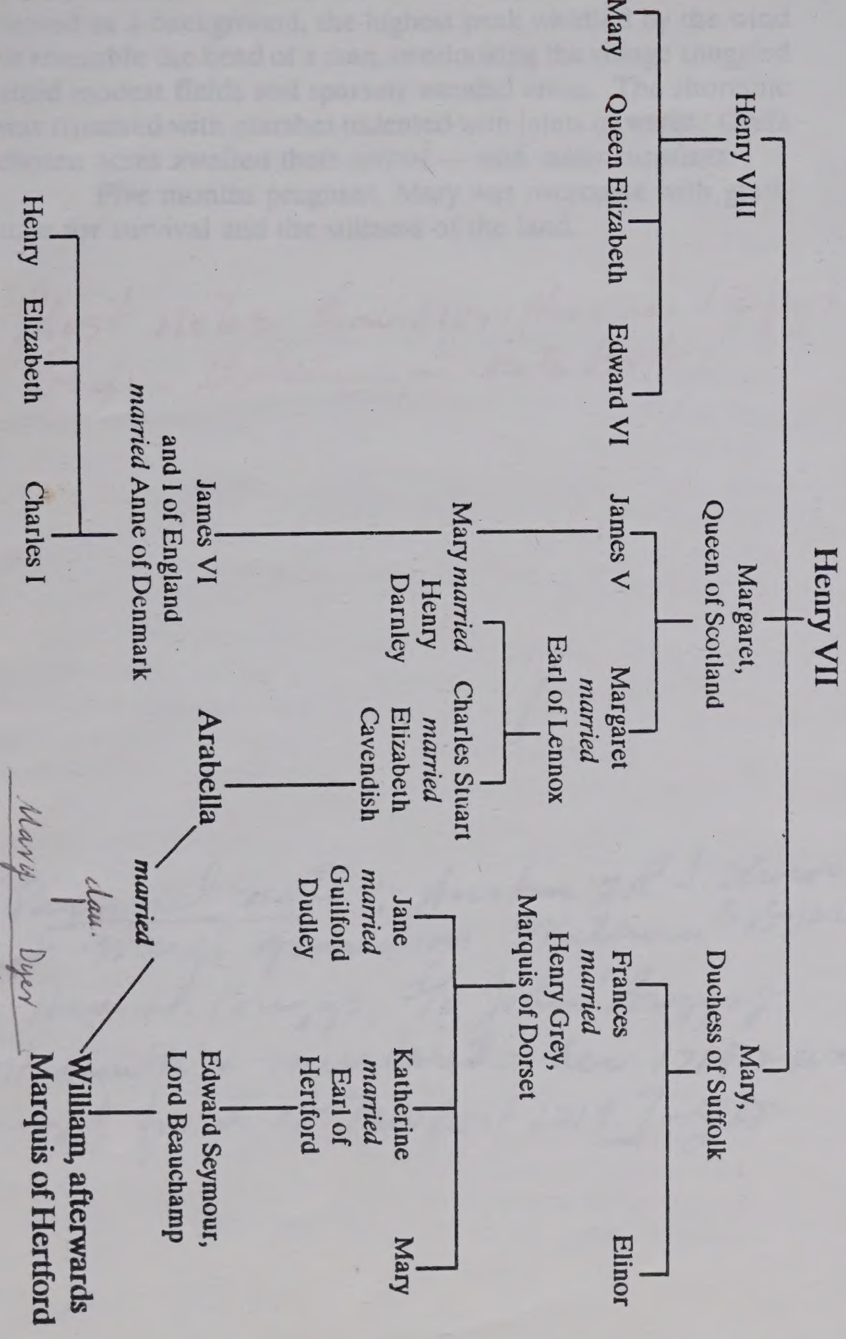
NOTES

1. Ruth T. Plimpton, *Mary Dyer: Biography of a Rebel Quaker* (Boston: Branden Publishing Company, 1994), 186-188 [selections].
2. The two were admitted to Boston Church on December 13, 1635.
3. Arthur J. Worrall, *Quakers in the Colonial Northeast* (Hanover, NH, and London: University Press of New England, 1980), 9-15.
4. John Stratton Hawley includes several essays on saints in various religious traditions in his edited book, *Saints and Virtues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); On Islam, 36-51, 127-143, on Hinduism, 52-72, on Confucianism, 73-86, on Judaism, 87-108, on Buddhism, 111-126, on Haitian Voodoo, 144-167.
5. Thieleman J. van Braght, *The Bloody Theater, or, Martyr's Mirror of the Defenseless Christians: Who Baptized Only Upon Confession of Faith, and Who Suffered and Died for the Testimony of Jesus, Their Saviour, from the Time of Christ to the Year A. D. 1660*, trans. Joseph F. Sohm, 10th ed. (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1975).
6. Clifton F. Guthrie, ed., *For All the Saints: a Calendar of Commemorations for United Methodists* (Akron, OH: Order of Saint Luke Publications, 1995), 1.
7. Kateri Tekakwitha. Although beatified by John Paul II June 22, 1980, she was declared venerable on January 2, 1943, by Pius XII.
8. Edith Stein. This decision met with protest from many Jewish groups both when Stein was beatified on May 1, 1987, and when she was canonized on October 11, 1998.
9. Kenneth L. Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't, and Why* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1990), 120 (also, 116-120); Anne R. Carey and Sam Ward, "Papal Imprint," *USA Today*, 26 January 1999, News section.
10. Plimpton, *Mary Dyer*, 186-188.
11. Hawley, *Saints and Virtues*, xiii-xxiv.
12. LG 51; *The Documents of Vatican II*, 84. The emphasis is mine.
13. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, § 948.
14. John A. Coleman, "Conclusion: After Sainthood?" in *Saints and Virtues*, ed. J Hawley, 208.
15. Hawley, *Saints and Virtues*, xx.
16. *LG* 49; *The Documents of Vatican II*, 81.
17. Hawley, *Saints and Virtues*, xiii.
18. *Ibid.*, xiv.
19. *Ibid.*, xiv.
20. I Cor. 11:1 (NRSV).

21. Hawley, *Saints and Virtues*, xv.
22. *Sacramentary*, 649. The emphasis is mine.
23. Stanley Hauerwas, "Ethics and Ascetical Theology," *Anglican Theological Review* 61 (1979), 98.
24. L. V. Hodgkin, *A Book of Quaker Saints* (London: Macmillan, 1922), 17.
25. *Ibid.*, vii.
26. Elizabeth Fox Howard, *Brave Quakers: A Quaker Story Book for Young Children* (London: Bannisdale Press, 1957), Elfrida Vipont, *A Faith to Live By* (Philadelphia: Religious Education Committee, Friends General Conference, 1962); David Lambert, *The Quiet in the Land: Some Quaker Saints Challenge Us Today* (London: Epworth Press, 1956).
27. Hymns 195, 219, 255, 270, 272, 281.
28. *A Brief Memoir of Elizabeth Fry* (Philadelphia: Association of Friends for the Diffusion of Religious and Useful Knowledge, 1858), 94.
29. Howard H. Brinton, *Quaker Journals: Varieties of Religious Experience Among Friends* (Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1972), xi-xii.
30. William M. Thompson, *Fire and Light: The Saints and Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987).
31. *Ibid.*, 53.
32. Herein is a place for specifically Quaker theological reflections and contributions to the wider theological conversation.
33. Thompson, *Fire and Light*, 58.
34. *Ibid.*, 59.
35. *Ibid.*, 60.
36. "It is perhaps the most dramatic way in which the saints help us keep the tradition moving and intersecting with contemporary experience...occasionally the saint's depth of experience and sensitive openness to new experiences qualifies him or her for a discovery of a genuinely 'new' aspect of the Christian revelation." Thompson, 62.
37. James Wm. McClendon, Jr., *Biography as Theology* (Philadelphia: Trinity Press International), 171.
38. Hauerwas, *A Community of Character* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 115, 131. The emphasis is in the original.

Mary Dyer: Biog. of a Rebel Quaker

, Radcliffe grad, 1994.


Henry VII
Henry VIII
Margaret, Queen of Scotland
Mary, Duchess of Suffolk
Mary
Queen Elizabeth
Edward VI
James V
Margaret married Earl of Lennox
Frances married Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset
Elinor
Mary married Henry Darnley
Charles Stuart married Elizabeth Cavendish
Jane married Guilford Dudley
Katherine married Earl of Hertford
Mary
James VI and I of England married Anne of Denmark
Arabella
married
Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp
Henry
Elizabeth
Charles I
William, afterwards Marquis of Hertford
dau.
Mary Dyer
conjecture

1. Genealogy of Arabella Stuart

Mary Dyer

{ 2 }

The Dyers from Old to New England

This narrative centers on Mary Dyer's search for freedom of religion. The events, which were set in motion by King Henry VIII's split with the Roman Catholic Church in 1531, take place in England, Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Rhode Island between the years of 1635 and 1663. The King had assumed for himself and his heirs the right to rule the church as well as the state. In protest, many new religious sects evolved, seeking ways to reform the Anglican service and return to the simplicity of the early church, as a more genuine method of communicating with God. Those who worked to purify the church were known as Puritans. Believing that the Bible contained the whole word of God, it was their desire to purge the Anglican Church of the procession of bishops and any ceremonies for which there was no reference in the Bible. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the First English Prayer Book was designated as the only legal rule of worship for the Church of England. The non-conforming Puritans believed that this book, the Book of Common Prayer, altered the word of God and should be discarded; God's word could only be revealed by His Command, as written in the Bible.

In the 17th century, Puritan-minded ministers of the Church of England were dismissed for preaching new solutions for the church. Some dissenters were whipped, imprisoned, and even executed. Lacking any public place for discussion, the reformist Puritans retreated to secret hiding places to exchange ideas, deciding, finally, that there could be no satisfactory reform within the Church of England. Another land was needed.

peninsula tethered to the mainland by a string of rocks. The Tri-Mountains — Pemberton, Beacon, and Mt. Vernon — served as a background, the highest peak whittled by the wind to resemble the head of a man, overlooking the village snuggled amid modest fields and sparsely wooded areas. The shoreline was trimmed with marshes indented with inlets of water. God's chosen acres awaited their arrival — with many surprises.

Five months pregnant, Mary was overcome with gratitude for survival and the stillness of the land.

Most notes handwritten in 13 pgs. in blue Hutchinson note book.

[Personal note: Austin of R.I. shows that Mary's grandson William^3 Dyer m. Hannah Briggs, d/o John^1 Briggs of Portsmouth & murdered her 1719 & was hanged for it at Newport 1719] —GW

{ 3 }

Settling In

"Wee must be knitt together in this work as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly affection, wee must be willing to abridge ourselves of superfluities,"[1] professed John Winthrop from the deck of the Arabella in 1630. By the time the Dyers arrived in Boston in 1635, this statement had permeated the community and had become a way of life. Although Winthrop did not always hold the office of Governor, he was to remain the essential leader for Massachusetts Bay Colony until his death in 1649.

Mary Dyer first noticed that the houses were all clustered closely together despite ample surrounding space. Winthrop had ruled that all buildings should be within half-a-mile of the center of Boston, where he had his home.[2] Anyone who wished to live further away could found their own town, as happened in Roxbury, Newtowne (Cambridge), Wollaston, etc.[3]

The Dyers took possession of a lot on Summer Street, with just enough land for a house, garden and a few fruit saplings brought with them from England. As Massachusetts Bay Colony was a commercial enterprise, its Royal Charter provided land for stockholders like William Dyer, who had contributed fifty pounds as well as paying for the passage of his family and individual servants.[4]

Mary and William proceeded to build the house which was to be their nest. The nearby forest was replete with a variety of trees unlike anything William had ever seen in England. Felling such giant trees was a strenuous process and the builders found it more efficient to cut the planks in place, dividing the jobs between them so that some would saw, some rive, and others would carry the wood back to the building site.

rope around his neck. Robinson had more to say, "Now ye are made manifest; I suffer for Christ in whom I live and in whom I die." There was a jerk of the rope, and Robinson was dead.

Marmaduke Stevenson was the next to step up on the ladder. He said, "Be it known to all this day, that we suffer not as evil doers, but for conscience sake; this day shall be at rest with the Lord." And so saying, the ladder was pulled out from under him.

Hales

Mary Dyer, seeing her companions hanging dead before her, stepped up on the ladder. Her skirts were tied around her feet. The halter was slipped over her head and lay limp on her neck. Her face was then covered with a handkerchief which the minister, John Wilson, had lent the hangman. As she stood on the ladder awaiting that final moment of death, there was suddenly a stir in the paralyzed crowd. A white horse came galloping across Boston Commons headed for the gallows. Its rider was wildly waving his hands and crying, "Stop! She is reprieved!"

A hundred voices shouted, "A reprieve!" Mary's feet were loosened, and the rope removed from her neck. When Rev. Wilson's handkerchief was removed she was startled to see her son Will holding the reprieve from Governor Endicott. Captain Oliver told her to come down off the ladder. Mary stood still and announced that she was still willing to suffer as her brethren, unless the wicked laws were annulled. Captain Oliver reminded her that it was for her son's sake that she was being spared. Mary was in such a stupendous state of shock that it became necessary for Marshall Michaelson to pick her up in his arms and carry her back to the prison. Will was standing in front of the jail, ready to give his mother one big embrace before leaving to board his vessel loaded with hogs and horses. He would like to have escorted his mother home, but he was needed on board as captain and, having accomplished his mission, he was filled with a sense of relief tempered with dread. Before boarding his frigate, Will reached in his pocket for the paper he would show his father on his return to Newport. It read:

Will was b. after 1635? hence only 15

Reprieve

> Whereas Mary Dyer is condemned by the General Court to be executed for her offenses, on the petition of William Dyer, her son, it is ordered that the said Mary Dyer shall have liberty for 48 hours after this day to depart out of this jurisdiction after which time, being found herein she is forthwith executed, and in the meantime she is to be kept a close prisoner till her son, or some other be ready to carry her away within the aforesaid time. It is further ordered that she will be carried to the place of execution and there to stand upon the gallows with a rope about her neck, till the rest be executed, and then to return to the prison and remain as aforesaid.

After Will left her, Mary Dyer returned to her cell and wrote a second letter to the Massachusetts General Court.

> Once more to the General Court, Assembled in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as before: My life is not accepted, neither availeth me, in Comparison of the Lives and Liberty of the Truth and Servants of the Living God, for which in the Bowels of Love and Meekness I sought you; yet nevertheless, with wicked Hands have you put two of them to Death, which makes me to feel, that the Mercies of the Wicked is Cruelty. I rather chuse to die than to live, as from you, as Guilty of their innocent Blood. Therefore, seeing my Request is hindered, I leave you to the Righteous Judge and Searcher of all Hearts, who, with the pure measure of Light he hath given to every Man to profit withal, will in his due time let you see whose Servants you are, and of whom you have taken Counsel, which desire you to search into: But all his counsel hath been slighted, and, you would none of his reproofs. Read your Portion, Prov. 1:24 to 32. 'For verily the Night cometh on you apace, wherein no Man can Work, in which you shall assuredly fall to your own Master, in Obedience to the Lord, whom I serve

> with my Spirit, and pity to your Souls, which you neither know nor pity: I can do no less than once more to warn you, to put away the Evil of your Doings, and Kiss the Son, the Light in you before his wrath be kindled in you; for where it is, nothing without you can help or deliver you out of his hand at all; and if these things be not so, then say, There hath been no prophet from the Lord sent amongst you: yet it is his Pleasure, by Things that are not, to bring to naught Things that are.'
>
> When I heard your last Order read, it was a disturbance unto me, that was so freely Offering up my life to him that give it me, and sent me hither to do, which Obedience being his own Work, he gloriously accompanied with his Presence, and Peace, and Love in me, in which I rested from my labour, till by your Order, and the People, I was so far disturbed, that I could not retain anymore of the words thereof, than that I should return to Prison, and there remain Forty and Eight hours; to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his Pleasure and Counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my Life, and the length of my Days, and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at His command.
>
> Mary Dyar[4]

The magistrates did not pay much attention to this letter. John Wilson had written a bawdy ballad describing the hanging of William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, and young boys were singing it in the streets. Emotions were at a pitch on all sides. It was feared that a rebellion would break loose unless Mary Dyer was made to leave Boston within 48 hours.

The excited crowd, returning from the hanging to the north end of Boston, was so great that the bridge leading them across the river collapsed tossing all the pedestrians into the water.

Mary Dyer was put in the charge of four horsemen. They followed her fifteen miles south of Boston. Then she was left in the custody of one man to escort her back to Rhode Island. She hastened to dismiss him, saying that she could find her own way home. She was glad to ride alone. With one trip canceled, she needed the solitude to start rescheduling her life between heaven and earth.

Wm. Dyer's plea

Honor S’,

It is no little greif of mind, and sadness of hart that I am necessitated to be so bold as to supplicate yo’ Honor self w’ the Honorable Assembly of yo’ Generall Courte to extend yo’ mercy and favo’ once agen to me and my children, little did I dream that I shuld have had occasion to petiton you in a matter of this nature, but so it is that throw the devine prouidence and yo’ benignity my sonn obtayned so much pitty and mercy att yo’ hands as to enjoy the life of his mother, now my supplicaton yo’ Hono’ is to begg affectionately, the life of my deare wife, tis true I have not seen her aboue this half yeare and therefor cannot tell how in the frame of her spiritt she was moved thus againe to runn so great a Hazard to herself, and perplexity to me and mine and all her friends and well wishers; so itt is from Shelter Island about by Pequid Narragansett and to the Towne of Prouidence she secrettly and speedyly journyed, and as secretly from thence came to yo’ jurisdiction, unhappy journy may I say, and woe to theat generatcon say I that gives occasion thus of grief and troble (to those that desire to be quiett) by helping one another (as I may say) to Hazard their lives for I know not watt end or to what purpose; If her zeale be so greatt as thus to adventure, oh lett your favoure and pitty surmount itt and save her life. Let not yo’ forwanted Compassion bee conquared by her inconsiderate maddnesse, and how greatly will yo’ renowne be spread if by so conquering yo’ become victorious, what shall I say more, I know yo’ are all sensible of my condition, and lett the reflect bee, and you will see whatt my peticon is and what will give me and mine peace, oh Lett mercies wings once more sore above justice ballance, and then whilst I live shall I exalt yo’ goodness butt other wayes twill be a languishing sorrow, yea so great that I shuld gladly suffer thie blow att once much rather: I shall forebear to troble yo’ Hn’ with words neythe am I in capacity to expatiate myself at present; I only say that yo’selves have been and are or may bee husbands to wife or wiues, so am I: yea to one most dearely beloved: oh do not you deprive me of her, but I pray give her me once agen and I shall bee so much obleiged for ever, that I shall endeavor continually to utter my thanks and render you Love and Honor most renowned: pitty me, I begg itt with teares, and rest you.

Most humbly suppliant
W. Dyre

Portsmouth 27 of [May] 1660

Most honored sirs, let these lines by yo’ fauo’ bee my Peticon to your Honorable General Court at present sitting.

W. D.

He gave the letter to a swift-footed Indian to deliver to Boston.

Governor Endicott received William Dyer’s letter and presented it to the General Court. Too bad if William Dyer was having trouble with his wife. She was giving them trouble too. She had no right to come back and defy their orders. She had been given her just warning. This was too much. Mary Dyer had been in Boston ten days, and it was time to call her before the General Court for one last inquisition. She was summoned to appear on May 31, 1660.

Mary Dyer entered the General Court looking a little greyer, and a little older than the year before. She was now forty-nine. Her changed appearance confused Governor Endicott. He was not certain it was that same woman. He looked her over questioningly. "Are you the same Mary Dyer that was here before?"

Mary Dyer: "I am the same Mary Dyer that was here at the last General Court."

Letter of protest by Anne Coddington

Friends!

It is so with me that I cannot any longer forbear to give you Warning of the Evil of your Ways, that you are now walking in, both in making and putting in Execution that cruel and wicked Law of yours, in punishing and putting to Death those that for Confidence-sake among you do declare the Word of the Lord; but you, instead of hearkening unto them, both whip, cut the Ears, and have put to Death three of them, in your own Will, and not in the Will of the Lord: But put the Case, you say *They are Here-ticks, and such ought to die.* To that I answer, 1. You will profess that you are *Christians,* and walk according to the Commands of Christ; if so, where will you find, that Christ commanded such to be put to Death? Did not he say, that the *Tares should grow among the Wheat until the Harvest?* And now who are you that judge another Man's Servant, who must stand or fall to his own Master? 2. Neither do ye follow the Apostle's Rule, who said, *With sound Doctrine the Gainsayers must be convinced*; but you Magistrates of *Boston* not being armed with spiritual Weapons, as good Soldiers of *Christ Jesus,* take not up the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, but use his weapons from ye serve, which are Whips, Knives, and Halters; you are just of his Mind, nothing will serve your Turns, nor justify your Malice, but their Lives: You are ready to plead as your Master did against *Job, Skin for Skin, all that a Man hath will he give for his Life:* So that it was *Job's Life* that he would have had, had the Lord permitted, as he hath done to you, that ye may fill up the Measure of your Cruelty. Would you not have thought it hard Measure, if any of you had been used so by the Bishops? Nay, did you not so think, though they did less than you yourselves have done? 4. Is this the following the Command of Christ, who said, *Whatsoever ye would that Men would do unto you, that do unto them?* But you will say, *They break your Laws:* Well, consider

3. ?Devil

Satan's quote

which of you hath not broke the Law of God: Have you not had other Gods besides him? Yea, the Gods whom ye serve, and whose Commands ye have obeyed. Are not your Priests your Gods whom ye have chosen? And their Commands ye have followed in this very Thing: I 5. now appeal to your Consciences, if it be not so; for though they speak *Peace,* yet if a *Man put not into their Mouths, they prepare for War.* And are you not like them in *Micab iii.10?* Do you now *build up* your Church *with Blood,* and your Town *with Iniquity?* for the *Heads* thereof *judge for Reward,* and the *Priests* thereof *teach for Hire,* and the *Prophets* thereof *divine for Money,* yet will they lean upon the Lord and say, *Is not the Lord among us? None Evil can come upon us. Secondly,* Do you not make *Graven Images?* Yea, of yourselves, and of your Laws, that they who will not honor you, and keep your Laws, though it goes against their Conscience, you have like *Nebuchadnezzar* made *one Law,* that is *to put to Death.* So that now you see, that your Craft and your Dissembling about your making your Laws cannot any longer be hid. Now therefore, while it is yet Time and Place for Repentance, repent and judge righteously, for Judgment is not Man's but God's. Oh! let not the Cries of the Fatherles and Widow come against you, for their Redeemer is mighty, that will plead their Cause; and as you have thirsted after Blood, you shall have Blood given you to drink, unless you prepare to meet the Lord by timely Repentance, yea, that Repentance which is never to be repented of: For Blood is a crying Sin: It cries loud in the Ears of the Lord for Vengeance as the Blood of *Abel* cried to the Lord from the Earth. And will you remain in *Cain's* Nature, to persecute and slay the Servants of the Most High. that are sent to you? Oh! take Warning betimes, lest Repentance be had from your Eyes. Truly this Burden lay upon me from the Lord to declare unto you, and I, like *Jonah,* was not willing to have declared it, and the Lord hath afflicted

> me for it; but now being warned the second Time, I could no longer forbear, for it was in me like *new Wine* and hath *no Vent*. Oh, therefore be warned by one who is a Friend unto you, and Well-wisher of the Health and Prosperity of your Souls.

Rhode Island, July 7th 1660 ANNE CODDINGTON[4]

While Anne Coddington expressed her rage directly to Governor Endicott, her husband reached out in a different direction for consolation. Recalling the statement of John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, that he would have crawled on his bare knees from Hartford to Boston if he could have possibly prevented the hanging of Mary Dyer, William Coddington wrote four letters to Winthrop, his quill crawling like bare knees in pain and humility. Several years later, the Coddingtons opened their home to become the first Quaker Meeting House in Newport.

The impact of the news in England was even more profound than in the Colonies. Three days before the hanging of Mary Dyer, London had gone wild with celebration for the return of Charles II. After fourteen years of exile, he came home on his thirtieth birthday. Eleven years of Cromwell parliamentary rule had been enough for the English. Everyone was embracing, dancing in the streets, and shouting, "Royalty restored! Long live the King!" Mary Dyer's mentor, George Fox, was confined to his cell at Lancaster Castle. On the day of Mary's hanging, he confided to his journal that he was receiving vibrations of a Quaker disaster in Boston.[5] Two weeks after the extravaganza on the streets of London, George Fox wrote a letter of warning to King Charles II.

> Oh it is hard to utter how much wine and strong drink hath been devoured in waste by people drinking of healths to thee, some upon their knees, and some otherwise, even until some hath been so drunk, they could neither speak or go right, and what abundance of wood have been wasted and devoured of great bon fires (as they call them) which they have done as they say to rejoice because of thee coming, yes even such great fires had been dangerous to the cities and townes, and such noises have been heard and scarce even have been the like, by shooting off of guns great and small and by ringing of bells and by people singing and laughing and shouting like histerical mad men in the streets and several places strewn with flowers and the like; and this is done in rejoicing concerning thee, and what abundance hath been devoured in feasting, and banqueting and abominable rejoicing? And also consider in what great need poor people are in ... consider what can be the end of all these things ... I have beheld the danger which thou are in which is exceedingly great.

The news of Mary's hanging gradually reached other countries. It was reported in the Swarthmore manuscripts that Mary Dyer "cast back the suggestions of mercy in the face of the judge and demanded only justice."[6]

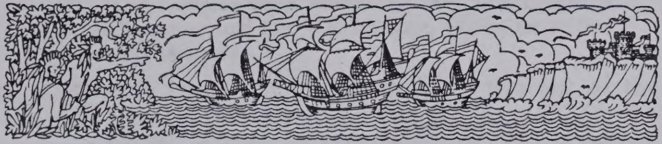
Then again in Ireland, Mary was referred to as "a lively testimony of the virtues of the truth, which can look death in the face, and be a record for future generations."[7]

And when news of the hanging reached Paris, the French had their own way of responding: "Ainsi; Mary Dyer donna sa vie pour le salient de ses frères; ce qui doit lui assurer une place parmi la grande femme d'Amerique, n'est-elle pas fait autre chose."[8]

John Taylor, who had recently been with Mary, wrote in his journal: "And Mary went away [from Shelter Island] for Boston again and said she must go and offer her life there, and desire them to repeal the wicked law which they had made against God's people, — she sealed her testimony with her blood; and so conquered through Death, and is gone into eternal life."

The news and manner of Mary's death needed to be brought to the attention of the King. Samuel Shattuck, who had

Gen. of R.I. Fam. Vol. 1



Ancestry of William Dyre

Mr. Louis Dyer of Oxford, England, in the Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries for 1898-99, Vol. VI, pages 269, 303 and 353, in a biographical sketch of William Dyre of Newport, R. I., attempts without adequate evidence to maintain that William Dyre of Rhode Island was identical with William Dyre, son of George Dyre of Bratton street, Maur, Somersetshire.

William Dyer, a Rhode Island Dissenter — From Lincoln or Somerset?

By William Allan Dyer

For generations the ancestry of William Dyre, the first General Recorder of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, and that of his wife, Mary Dyre, the Quaker martyr, has been sought in vain.

Many years ago an attempt to discover it was made by Professor Louis Dyer of Harvard University, when he was at Oxford, England. He made some investigations, drew certain conclusions and sent them to "Somerset Notes and Queries," a publication in England. Afterwards they were reprinted in a pamphlet which was given some circulation. As a study of this pamphlet led to doubt as to the accuracy of his findings, a careful analysis was made and the papers sent to Mr. Richard Holworthy, London, England, an antiquary of high repute and a member of the firm of Holworthy and Shilton. Through their efforts, we believe that the immediate ancestry of William Dyre has finally been established beyond a doubt.

It is here given, for the first time, as a contribution to the Tercentenary Celebration of the founding of Rhode Island, through the Rhode Island Historical Society.

* * * * *

Before telling the story, it will be helpful and perhaps illuminating to give a brief history of William and Mary Dyre, starting from their arrival in New England.

The first reference to William Dyre is in the records of the Town of Boston in Massachusetts Bay Colony, showing him to have been a resident there in December 1635. He was made a freeman at Boston, March 3, 1635/6.

William Dyre and his wife united with the church in Boston, of which the Rev. John Wilson was pastor, in 1635. It was this same Rev. Wilson who reviled Mary Dyre when she went to execution June 1, 1660. The church records give the baptism of their first-born son, Samuel Dyre, on December 20, 1635.

At a Boston Town Meeting held the 23rd of the 11th month, 1635, William Dyre was chosen Clerk of a special commission. The eleventh month at that time was January, hence the date would be January 23, 1636, according to present day reckoning. At this meeting it was:

> "agreed yt, for ye raysing of a new Worke of fortification upon ye Fort Hill, about yt which is there alreddy begune, the whole town would bestowe fourteene dayes worke a man. For this end, Mr. Deputie (Bellingham), Mr. Harry Vane, Mr. John Winthrop, senr., Mr. William Coddington, Mr. John

> Winthrop, junr., Captain John Underhill and Mr. William Brenton are authorized as Commissioners."
>
> They were directed to "sett downe how many dayes worke would be equall for each man to doe, and what money such should contribute beside their worke as were of greater abilities and had fewer servants, that therewith provision of tooles and other necessaryes might bee made, and some recompence given to such of ye poorer sort as should be found to bee overburdened with their fourteene dayes worke; and Mr. John Coogan is chosen Treasurer, and *Mr. William Dyer, Clarke,* for ye furtherance of this worke."

R.I.

Two years later, when William Dyre was one of the nineteen persons who signed on March 7th, 1637/8, the compact for the settlement of Portsmouth, Rhode Island, he was again chosen Clerk. Again, when he and others signed an agreement for the settlement of Newport on Rhode Island, he was chosen Clerk. And when, in 1647, the government of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay was set up under the first charter, William Dyre was chosen General Recorder of the Colony.

* * * * *

It is to be agreed that William and Mary Dyre arrived at Boston prior to December, 1635. They probably came either in the latter part of 1634 or early in 1635, for we know now, from other sources and evidence, that he was in London in 1634.

This is further borne out by the allotment of land shown on the Boston records of December 14, 1635, and January 8, 1637/8. At a meeting on the latter date, it was recorded that "whereas att a Generall Meeting the 14th of the 10th month (December) 1635, it was by generall Consent agreed upon for the laying out of great Allottments unto the *then Inhabitants,* the same are now brought in." Among these "great allotments" were those of Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point, within the town of Boston, on the north and northeast side of the harbor.

"Mr. William Dyar" received 42 acres, "bounded on the North with Mr. Glover, on the East with the Beach, on the South with Mr. Cole, and on the West with the highway."

(See rough sketch showing relatively the position of these allotments adjacent to that of "Mr. William Dyar.")

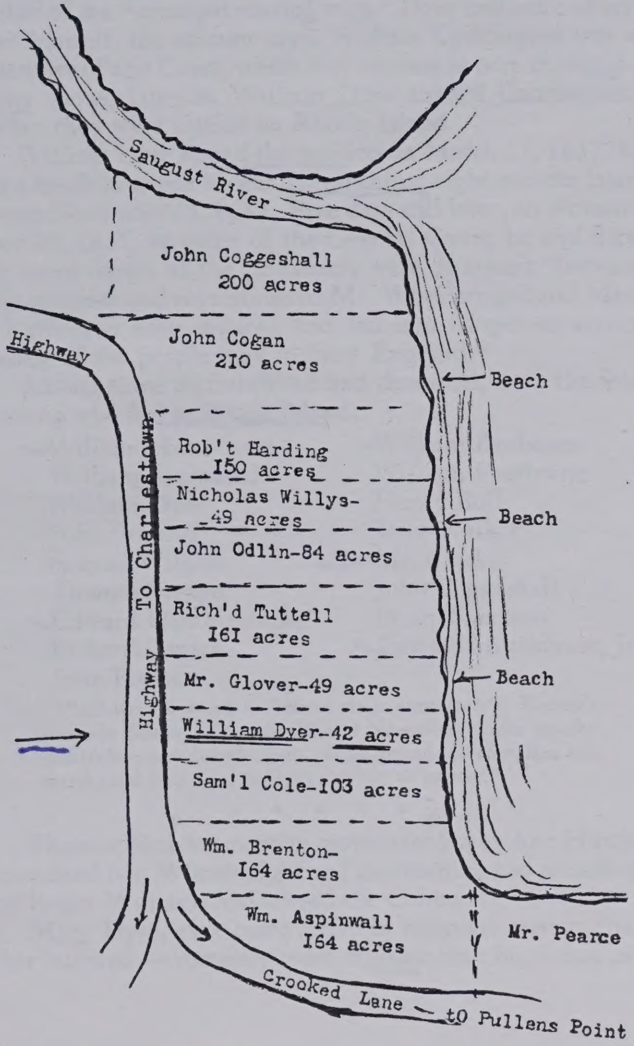
THE "GREAT ALLOTMENT" OF LANDS AT RUMNEY MARSH AND PULLENS POINT IN THE TOWN OF BOSTON, MASS., 1635-7

Note: This sketch is an imperfect one—not intended to be accurate except as to showing the relative position of the various lots and their owners, as indicated in the Boston Records. It is shown here for the purpose of indicating the land of William Dyer and that of his neighbors. Rumney Marsh and Pullens Point were part of what later became the town of Chelsea, and were north and north-east of the town proper of Boston, though at the time included in the boundaries of Boston.

The Great Allotments at Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point were made to: 1635-7

Imprymis, Mr. Henry Vane, Esq.	200	acres
Mr. John Winthropp, the Elder	150	"
James Penn	50	"
Mr. John Newgate	112	"
*Mr. John Sanford	100	"
Thomas Marshall	70	"
Thomas Matson	28	"
Benjamin Gillam	28	"
John Gallopp	49	"
Mr. Robte Keaine	314	"
*Mr. John Coggeshall	200	"
Mr. John Cogan	210	"
*Mr. Robte Harding	100	"
Nicholls Willys	40	"
John Odlin	84	"
Mr. Richard Tuttell	161	"
Mr. Glover	49	"
**Mr. William Dyar*	42	"
Mr. Samuel Cole	103	"
*Mr. William Brenton	164	"
* Mr. William Aspinwall	164	"

(Those starred * are found later in Rhode Island or connected with its history.)


Saugust River
John Coggeshall
200 acres
Highway
John Cogan
210 acres
Beach
Rob't Harding
150 acres
Nicholas Willys-
49 acres
Beach
John Odlin-84 acres
To Charlestown
Rich'd Tuttell
161 acres
Highway
Mr. Glover-49 acres
Beach
William Dyer-42 acres
Sam'l Cole-103 acres
Wm. Brenton-
164 acres
Wm. Aspinwall
164 acres
Mr. Pearce
Crooked Lane to Pullens Point

As Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point were apportioned to the dwellers in Boston for farm lands, good water communication with that town was essential. This probably explains William Dyre's part-ownership in a Dock in Boston. Eight of the fourteen owners of the Dock were land holders at Rumney Marsh across the harbor. This Dock was conveyed on March 25, 1639, to Richard Parker, merchant.

William Dyer's "house-plot" was in the vicinity of what is now Summer Street in the present business district of the City. This is proven by the Town of Boston Records under date of 19th of 12th month (February), 1637/8.

Evidently William Dyre did not hold his Rumney Marsh land long. Chamberlain, in his history of Chelsea, says, that when on September 23, 1639, Elizabeth Glover, widow, sold the 49 acres allotted to her husband, they abutted on the lands of Samuel Cole, towards the South. Thus Cole must have acquired the Dyre allotment, which, on January 8, 1637/8, was Glover's southern boundary.

gone

* * * * *

By the time the bounds of the Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point allotments were finally described and recorded, January 8, 1637/8, the religious controversy in Boston had reached its climax. Mr. John Wheelwright was called into Court for opinions expressed in a sermon preached on a special day of Fast, and was adjudged guilty of sedition and also of contempt. The Governor, Henry Vane, and a few others protested against the decision of the Court. The Church of Boston tendered a petition in behalf of Mr. Wheelwright. Seeing he had so many and such strong friends, the Court concluded to suspend sentence until the next Court. In the end, after a delay of some months, he was sentenced to banishment from the jurisdiction of Boston.

Drake, in his History of Boston, says that Mr. Wheelwright's followers persisted in their opinions and the Court

decided to proceed against the persons who had signed the petition in his favor. Singly, and in groups, they were called before the Court. William Dyre was summoned with three other of the "principal stirring men." Dyre had little to say for himself, the account says. William Coddington was a member of this Court, which may explain in part the antipathy shown later by William Dyre toward Coddington, when they were settled on Rhode Island.

William Dyre signed the petition on March 15, 1637/8, as a result of which he was disfranchised eight months later —on November 15, 1637. Five days still later, on November 20, 1637, by order of the General Court, he and fifty or more others of the petitioners were disarmed "because the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson have seduced and led into dangerous errors many of the people here in New England."

Among those disfranchised and disarmed, were the following who fled to Rhode Island:

William Hutchinson
William Aspinwall
William Dyre
John Sanford
Samuel Wilbore
Thomas Savage
Edward Hutchinson Sr
Richard Carder
John Porter
William Baulstone
William Freeborne
Henry Bull
John Walker
Dr. Mr. Clarke
John Coggeshall
Philip Sherman
Edward Hutchinson, Jr. S/o Anne

> "All were ordered to deliver their arms at Mr. Keayne's house in Boston, before the 30th of November, under penalty of £10 for every default; guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and match; and they were forbidden to buy or borrow."

* * * * *

The so-called Antinomian movement led by Ann Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright and the teaching and preaching of Roger Williams had stirred the Colony.

Mary Dyre, ever more active in religious matters than her husband — certainly more militant than he — had not

been a mere onlooker in these controversies. She had warmly espoused the cause of Wheelwright and his sister-in-law, Ann (Marbury) Hutchinson, and we shrewdly opine that William Dyre at this period was greatly influenced by his wife. It was Governor Winthrop who said that when Ann Hutchinson was cast out of the Church, "Mrs. Dyre walked out with her, in the presence of the whole congregation."

A brave, or a bold thing to do, as one looks at it. A showing of colors, or an impetuous act — depending upon the point of view.

Mrs. Cornelia Joy Dyer in her book, "Some Records of the Dyer Family," says of Marie Dire (as she herself spelled her name): "Her apparent character and vigorous expression of the same, no doubt caused her to be looked upon as a formidable opponent of the orthodox Puritans."

This may the more readily explain why she was so quickly arrested in 1657, when she returned from England, as a Friend or "Quaker."

* * *

In 1636—three hundred years ago—came the banishment of Roger Williams from Massachusetts Bay and the settlement of Rhode Island!

Later, upon the banishment of Ann Hutchinson and Wheelwright and the disfranchisement and disarming of their adherents, William Dyre joined eighteen others in the settlement of the Island of Acquidneck—the "Island of Peace"—afterwards named Rhode Island. This settlement was at Pocasset, later called Portsmouth. The location was recommended by Roger Williams and he was instrumental in securing the title to it for the settlers, from the Indians.

The deed for the purchase of the Islands of Acquidneck, Canonicut, etc., from the Indians was made to William Coddington, Dr. John Clarke and their associates, and bears the date of March 24, 1636/7. It was witnessed by Roger Williams and Randall Holden.

The consideration given for its purchase was:

10 fathoms of Wampumpeage & 1 broadcloth coat	to Miantonomi
5 fathoms of Wampumpeage & 1 coat	to Washahansett
5 fathoms of Wampumpeage	to Wanimemtoni
2 fathoms of Wampumpeage & 23 coats & 13 ditto for Indians & 2 turkeys	to Miantonomi & Canonicus

The Portsmouth Compact was drawn up by Dr Clarke the signers before leaving Providence, whither they had gone after leaving Massachusetts Bay, and was signed March 7, 1637/8.

It reads as follows:

> "The 7th day of the first month (March) 1637/8:—We, whose names are underwritten doe here solemnly, in the presence of JEHOVAH, incorporate ourselves into a Body Politick, and as He shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most absolute laws of His, given in his Holy Word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."

No Briggs

89 "Exodus XXIV, 3-4; 2nd Chron. XI, 3-4; 2nd Kings XI, 17."

The signers were:

William Coddington
William Aspinwall
Richard Carder
Randall Holden
William Dyre
Dr. Rev. John Clarke
Samuel Wilbore
Edward Hutchinson
Philip Sherman
John Coggeshall
John Walker
Henry Bull
Thomas Savage
William Baulstone
John Sanford
Wm. Freeborne
Wm. Hutchinson
John Porter
Edward Hutchinson, Jr.

Callender speaks of these settlers as "largely Antinomians and adherents of Ann Hutchinson, who were called 'Puritans of the highest form.' Their opponents in Massachusetts Bay called the Antinomian doctrine 'Calvinism run to seed'." Perhaps the phraseology of their civil Compact justifies the remark.

Later came a disagreement and the settlement of Newport by a few of these men. In this, William Dyre took part. Here follows the Newport Compact:

> "It is agreed by us whose hands are underwritten, to propagate a Plantation in the midst of the Island or elsewhere; and doe engage ourselves to bear equal charges, answerable to our strength and estate, in common. And that our determination shall be by major voice of Judges and Elders, the Judge to have a double vote."

Signed:

William Coddington, Judge
Nicholas Easton
William Brenton
John Clarke
Thomas Hazard
Henry Bull
Jeremy Clarke
John Coggeshall
William Dyre
Elders
Clerk

This settlement, called Newport, became and was for many years, the leading one on the Island. Later, it and Portsmouth were combined, though still separate Towns. The titles, Judge and Elders, were abolished and the chief officers were called Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants.

In 1648, William Dyre was called "Lieutenant."

In 1653, he was named "Captain" "to go against the Dutch *by sea.*"

* * * * *

While suppositions as to the ancestry of William Dyre have appeared in print from time to time, the only real attempt to discover it was that made about 1899 by Professor Louis Dyer of Harvard University while he was at Oxford. His findings were given in "Somerset & Dorset Notes and Queries," an English publication, and were afterward reprinted as a pamphlet under the title, "WILLIAM DYER, A SOMERSET ROYALIST IN NEW ENGLAND."

This passed current since that time as the only written statement with any evidence attached and supporting. In it he made these assertions:

1. That William Dyer was a Somersetshire man according to tradition in the family.
2. That in the course of several years, he had "looked up facts and dates about a very large number of Englishmen who lived at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries and bore the name of William Dyer, and the only one with whom it is possible to identify the Rhode Island Colonist is the William Dyer, entered in

the 'Visitation of Somersetshire of 1623' among the Dyers of Sharpham Park, as eldest son of George Dyer and Dorothy Shirley of Bratton St. Maur (Seymour), near Wincanton, and a great-nephew of the distinguished Elizabethan Judge, Sir James Dyer." Then Professor Dyer went on to say that "There is no mention of this American Colonist, William Dyer, in English documents other than Colonial, unless we identify him with the William Dyer above" who was 36 years of age in 1623, according to this "Visitation of Somersetshire" of that year.

3. While he speaks vaguely of a possibility that William Dyer had had some sea-faring experience in his earliest manhood, he states, "we find him at the age of 40 or thereabouts (1627) in London as a 'Milliner in the New Exchange' " and adds, "There is no trace of him on the records at Haberdasher's Hall, but something might perhaps be found in the records of the Mercers Company," which latter he did not examine. Further, he says, "He may perfectly well have been a seafaring man enrolled as a member of a London Guild."

4. That he was a "Milliner in the New Exchange," he says, "we depend upon the statements to that effect by no less a person that Gov. John Winthrop." The first, made in October, 1637, is in a document found among the Conway papers at the Public Record Office, London (Colonial Papers IX-74) signed by John Winthrop, in which he refers to William and Mary Dyer in the following words: "One Mary Dyer, wife of William Dyer, sometime milliner in the New Exchange, London, *being both young and very comely persons*." The second statement of Winthrop's, is that from his Diary, under date of 1st month (March) 1638 in his account of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson being cast out of the Church at Boston, and Mary Dyer of her own will joining and following her. Winthrop refers to her as "The wife of one William Dyer, a milliner in the New Exchange" and adds, "For Mrs. Dyer going forth with her, a stranger asked what *young woman* it was?"

5. The other statement which Professor Dyer stressed was that "it is well attested that the Dyers in Somersetshire were on the losing side in the struggle between Charles I and the Roundheads. Accordingly, the falling fortunes of his people might be assigned as William Dyer's reason for migrating to Massachusetts Bay."

* * * * *

Analyzing Professor Dyer's article:

If William Dyre of Rhode Island were the William Dyer of the "Visitation of Somersetshire of 1623," he would have been born in 1587 and been 48 years of age in 1635 when his first child, Samuel, was baptized in Boston. Presumably, Mary, his wife, was about his age. If so, she would have been beyond the age of child-bearing after 1635. Yet they had six more children, born respectively in 1637, 1640, 1642, 1643/4, 1647, and the last, Charles, born in 1650, when his father would have been 63 years old. Moreover, he would have been 75 when his youngest child, Elizabeth, by his second wife, Catherine, was born; and he would have been 90 in 1677 when he died—which he was not.

The second premise made by Professor Dyer that came under doubt, was that which indicated that William Dyre was a Royalist. On August 30, 1659, when his wife was held incommunicado in prison in Boston, William Dyre wrote a pathetic letter to the Massachusetts authorities, complaining bitterly of their treatment of his wife. It is found in the Chamberlain Collection in the Boston Public Library, and was published in the *Nation*, May 29, 1902, through the offices of Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

William Dyre writes:

> "Having received some letters from my wife, I am given to understand of her commitment to close prison. . . .
>
> "Though wet to the skin, she was thrust into a room wherein was nothing to sit or lie upon but dust. Had your dog been wet,

you would have afforded it a chimney corner to dry itself, or had your hogs been penned in a sty, you would have afforded them some dry straw, or else you would have wanted mercy to your beast, but alas, Christians now with you are used worse than hogs or dogs. . . .

"Even the worst of men, the Bishops themselves, denied not the visitation and relief of friends to their wants *which I, myself, have oft experienced by visiting Mr. Prine, Mr. Smart and other eminent* (. . . .) *when he was commanded close in the Tower. I had resort once or twice a week and never fetched before authority to ask me whereof I came to the Tower or King's Bench or Gate House. . . .*

"Hath not people in America the same liberty as beasts and birds have to pass the land or air without examination? . . . It is not to be forgotten the former cruelties you used towards her when she came from England, having been tossed at sea all winter, but a little refreshment that had by cross winds at Barbadoes, yet as soon as come into Harbour shut up in prison and there kept . . . for no transgression at all, only that Mr. Bellingham then as now, said she was a Quaker. . . .

"Where your law or rule to keep a man's wife from him seven or eight weeks and a mother from her children, in a capacity of a close prison, which admits of no baylement? . . . "

"so saith
"her husband
W. Dyre"

"Newport, this 30th August, 1659
"To ye Court of Assistants now assembled at Boston this 6th September, 1659."

This was endorsed: "To ye Court of Assistants, delivered into ye Court by his wife, Mary Dyre, 7th. 7th mo. 59." (Sept. 7, 1659)

Note: The word left blank (. . . .) is so stained in the original letter that it is not legible.

While this letter is interesting from many angles, the principal purpose in quoting from it here, is to show that William Dyre, while in London, between the midsummer of 1633 and the end of the year 1634, visited Prynne, Smart and other dissenters in the Tower of London and prison. Prynne was a dissenting Barrister who had had his ears cut off, been put in the Stock in St. Paul's Churchyard and been imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1633/4

because of his pamphlet, "Histrio-Mastrix," a treatise against the stage plays, which was regarded as an aspersion upon Queen Henrietta.

McGregor, in his "History of Great Britain," characterizes him as "a man who carried ideas of Puritanism so far as to denounce the most harmless amusements with the most ridiculous prejudice."

How, therefore, could a man who was a sympathizer with Puritan dissenters, going to the length of visiting them in the Tower of London — a dissenter himself, as shown in New England and having already indicated it before going from London — be considered a Royalist with all the name implied at that time?

Convinced, then, that the ancestry of William Dyre was still undiscovered, and having secured all the data possible in this country, we determined to have a search made in England. Through the interest of Mr. G. Andrews Moriarty of Bristol, R. I., himself a genealogist of note, we were assured that the key to possible success was an entry in the Lay Subsidy Rolls in the Public Record Office in London — mention of which was made in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, Vol. 61 (1907).

The Lay Subsidy Rolls were examined and in an assessment for the poll tax of members of the Fishmongers Guild, the following entry was found:

> "August 19, 1641—William Dyer, Millyner, now in New England."

A search of the records of the Fishmongers Guild was made, and the following information found:

> "Dier, William, son of William Dier, yoman of Kerkbie in the Co. of Lincoln, apprenticed 20.6.1625 for nine years (to date from Mids(summer) 1624) to Walter Blackborne, fishmonger."

The next step was to find which Kirkby in Lincolnshire it was from which William Dyre came. There are six Kirkbys in Lincolnshire, viz: Kirkby on Bain, Kirkby cum Osgoodby, Kirkby Green, Kirkby Underwood, East Kirkby and Kirkby Laythorpe.

The records of each were examined. Nothing was found in the first five of these, through a search of the Parish Registers.

The Parish Registers of Kirkby Laythorpe are in existence only from the year 1660, consequently the Bishop's Transcripts were relied upon and searched. These were found for the years 1590 to 1615, and here was discovered the entry desired, giving the date of the baptism of William Dyre; that of his brother, Nicholas (older); that of his sister, Margaret (younger); the Transcript being signed on Ladyday 1610 by the father, William Dyer, Churchwarden (the one who had apprenticed his son, William—William of Rhode Island—in 1623, to Walter Blackborne, fishmonger).

Extracts from the Parish Registers
Kirkby Laythorpe, County Lincoln
1590 to 1615

1606/7	Nicholas Dyer, the sonn of Will'm was baptissed Februarie the XIX
1609	*William Dyer*, the son of William Dyer was baptized the XIXth of September
1610	Ladyday. William Dyer, churchwarden signs the transcript.
1610	Margrett Dyer, the daughter of Will'm Dyer was baptized September the XXIjth
1611	Missing.

This shows that William Dyer, identified as William Dyre, the Colonist of Rhode Island, was baptized at Kirkby Lathorpe, County Lincoln, England, on September 19th, 1609, and that his father was William Dyer, Churchwarden.

A further search was made and is now continuing, though as yet without avail, to discover the ancestry of William Dyer, the father of William of Rhode Island.

We have gone so far as to satisfy ourselves that he was not of a Lincolnshire family. The rather strong possibility is that he was the William Dyer, son of John Dyer, the younger, and his second wife, Jane Ernley (Byfleet) of the "Visitation of Somersetshire of 1623"—a younger brother of George Dyer of Bratton-St. Maur (Seymour) mentioned in Professor Dyer's pamphlet. If so, he was a nephew of Sir James Dyer, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas of Queen Elizabeth's time, whose will was made in 1581. We are by no means sure of this, though a study of the habitat of the Dyers of England points strongly to Somersetshire.

The discovery of the baptismal record of William Dyre clears up many points. The date, September 19, 1609, is consistent with Governor Winthrop's characterization of him as "young" in 1637, when he was about 28 years of age. It confirms our opinion that the age of his wife, Mary, was not far from his, though likely a bit younger. It gives us some data from which to proceed to ascertain his further ancestry.

A reading of the history of the London Companies or Guilds, leaves no doubt of the meaning of the word, Milliner, attached to William Dyre's name. A Milliner was one who sold small wares and he was so styled because he imported goods chiefly from Milan in Italy. The trade of Milliner was a branch of the Haberdasher's trade. The Milliners imported such articles as "pouches, broches, agglets, spurs, capes, glasses, French and Spanish gloves, French cloth of frizard (Frieze), daggers, swords, knives, Flanders-dyed kersies, Spanish girdles, dials, tables, etc." Ditchfield in his book, "The Story of the City Companies," says that the Milliner often became a wealthy and important person.

The privilege of becoming a member in one of the London Companies was obtained in three ways: "by patrimony, apprenticeship and redemption." Apparently William Dyre became a member by the second method.

That he was in the Fishmongers Company, though a Milliner, is explained by the fact that the right of membership was also hereditary. "All lineal descendants of a freeman had a right to become freemen. Hence, in course of time all the freemen may in no way be connected with the trade which the name of the fraternity bears."

The apprentices of the Fishmongers Company were kept very strictly and the rules stated that "vicious and unruled apprentices, and using dice, cards, or any such games, or haunting, resorting to taverns, or for other misbehaving" should be punished.

Walter Blackborne, to whom William Dyre was apprenticed, though a member of the Fishmongers Company probably had no connection with the fishing industry. He, too, was doubtless a Milliner, if it were he who was in Boston in 1638 to 1640. It seems positive it was he, for the Boston man was styled "shopkeeper" in one legal document and "Walter Blackborne of London, Haberdasher," in another. When he was about to sail for old England, he gave his wife, Elizabeth, a power of attorney, dated 22 of 1st month (March) 1640/1, to dispose of his property in New England and to receive money owing him. Some months later she sold his dwelling house and "shop new built," payment to be made to Walter Blackborne in London. She evidently returned to England afterward. The will of "Walter Blackborne of London, Fishmonger" was proved at London, 30th December, 1657, by Elizabeth Blackborne, the relict. He expressed in his will the desire to be buried in the "north Isle of Michael in Crooked Lane." The Fishmongers Company, ever careful to discharge their religious obligations, had built in 1499, a chapel in the Parish Church of St. Michael in Crooked Lane.

The discovery of the apprenticeship record of William Dyre establishes his marriage to Mary as occurring probably in or near London, between midsummer of 1633 and March 1635. We had hoped that her parentage might have been found in time to give it with that of William Dyre at this most appropriate time — the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Rhode Island.

Her history, after her arrival in New England, is well known and has been the subject of innumerable treatises, but back of that time it is shrouded in mystery.

There is a fascinating story of her birth and early history, which, if true, will be a real contribution to Rhode Island, as well as Massachusetts history — but that is another matter.

We are glad on our part, even at this late day, to have made this little contribution to Rhode Island history and its Tercentenary, through the Rhode Island Historical Society.

The writer wishes to say that in this research and investigation, the late Henry B. Bradford of Wilmington, Delaware, a graduate of Yale College and himself a direct descendant of William and Mary Dyre of Rhode Island; and Miss Theresa E. Dyer of Brookline, Massachusetts, have had quite as large a part as he himself, and much of the success of our joint efforts is due to them, especially to Miss Dyer.

For himself, it has been a labor of pride, since he is descended himself from several of the original settlers of Portsmouth and Newport, and his wife is a direct descendant of Roger Williams and many of his associates in the Providence and Warwick settlements.

Cyrus Dallin, Sculptor

Monument to Anne Hutchinson
before Massachusetts State House

An American Jezebel

THE LIFE OF ANNE HUTCHINSON

by

Helen Augur

PUBLISHERS · Brentano's · NEW YORK

PUBLIC LIBRARY
OF THE
CITY OF DENVER

B
H971an

IN R.I.

Chapter Thirteen

WHILE Mrs. Hutchinson was being tried before Boston Church, her husband's scouting party hit on a place for settlement. The nineteen men of the party left their little ship before it made the dangerous skirting of Cape Cod, and struck overland, intending to board it again at Providence. But at Providence Roger Williams changed their plan of proceeding south to Long Island or Delaware Bay. He had not forgotten what it was to be an exile from the Bay, and he suggested that the refugees settle near him on Aquidneck, the exquisite island bathed by Narragansett Bay which is now the southeastern part of Rhode Island. Plymouth had an intangible claim to the territory, but consented to its settlement.

Williams negotiated the purchase from the Indians. The Narragansett sachems Canonicus and Miantonomo remembered Harry Vane, whom Williams had brought to visit them two years before, and when they heard that the newcomers were friends of Vane's, and that

that young gentleman himself would probably come to be the English sachem, all difficulties melted. The chiefs graciously accepted forty fathoms of white wampum as purchase-money, and as quit-money twenty hoes and ten English coats, which they prized above barrels of beaver. Nineteen Englishmen became proprietors of Aquidneck. Who? includ Jno Briggs

The sale was completed March 24, 1638, and the purchase-deed was signed by William Hutchinson and his brother Edward, by young Edward son Hutchinson and Thomas Savage, who had just come from Boston, by Coddington, Aspinwall, Coggeshall, Dr. John Clarke, a young Bedfordshire physician newly arrived in America, William Dyer, Randall Holden, William Baulston, John Sanford, Senior, whose son was married to Bridget Hutchinson, and seven others. Richard Scott of Providence, Katherine Marbury's husband, rushed up to Boston with news of the purchase, and arrived just in time to prevent Mrs. Hutchinson's leaving for New Hampshire.

19 proprietors

Anne Hutchinson arrived in Providence prostrated from the five days' journey afoot, and the five nights' sleeping on frosty ground. While she rested there at her sister's home, her family hastily built a house on the northeast corner of the Island facing the mainland. The

Hutchinsons were the first to settle Aquidneck, for Thomas Savage went back to live on William's farm at Mount Wollaston and keep it from confiscation by the Bay, and the other purchasers returned to Boston to fetch their families.

Mrs. Hutchinson's new home lay in rippling grasses scarcely higher than the waters of cove and bay which almost encircled it. The spring wind blew in warm and heavy; it ruffled the tawny grasses on the low salt-meadows that reminded her of the Lincolnshire meadows by the sea. But the sun which mounted as spring advanced was bright and savage, the sun of a new world. And the little settlement kept its savage Indian name, Pocasset.

1. T.C. m/164

People began to arrive in the Island, scores of exiles who had come for her sake. They were eager for her old buoyant talk, freed at last from the suppression of the Bay. But in her heart was an emptiness, a dim void of suffering. For weeks she lay near death, unaware that the little commonwealth created because of her was innocently evolving into another theocracy. William Coddington had been elected governor, and Coddington, so sincere, so solid, was inadvertently repeating some of Winthrop's mistakes. The spirit of Moses rose about the colony like a fog. But she was too ill to

realize what was happening. She courted death, easeful death, deliverance.

Young Dr. Clarke sat at her side day after day, waiting for the crisis of child-birth to resolve her mysterious suffering into something familiar to his short experience. Her ailment was more than mysterious, it was sinister. Once, when he left his patient, the people waiting outside saw fear in his eyes.

"What news of our sister?" they asked him.

"The case," he said cryptically, "is both doubtful and dangerous." And he hurried away, his hands trembling.

The crisis came, and Dr. Clarke was really frightened. Mrs. Hutchinson's over-taxed body had revenged itself in anomalies.[1] The young physician was superstitious, and rumors of something monstrous seeped out. Somebody wrote an indiscreet letter to Mr. Cotton.

The next lecture-day Mr. Cotton rose in the open assembly and told the congregation that Mistress Hutchinson had borne "twenty-seven several lumps of man's seed, without any alteration, or mixture of anything from the woman." He concluded "that it might signify her error in denying inherent righteousness, but that

Wasn't this true of ~~Jane Hawkins~~ Mary Dyer

---

[1] No wonder Dr. Clarke was alarmed; Mrs. Hutchinson's malady was a rare and curious one. The strain of her trial and imprisonment had diverted her pregnancy into an abnormal uterine growth.

all was Christ in us, and nothing of ours in our faith, love, etc."

Winthrop's imagination took fire. He had suffered much anguish of conscience about Anne Hutchinson; but perhaps, after all, he had been right in thinking her an evil woman. He immediately wrote to Dr. Clarke for details. Dr. Clarke replied: "Mrs. Hutchinson, six weeks before her delivery, perceiving her body to be greatly distempered, and her spirits failing, and in that regard doubtful of life, she sent to me, etc., and not long after in *immoderato fluore uterino* it was brought to light, and I was called to see it, where I beheld, first unwashed, (and afterwards in warm water) several lumps, every one of them greatly confused, and if you consider each of them according to the representation of the whole, they were altogether without form. . . . Of these several lumps there were about twenty-six."

But this was not enough. Winthrop sent a courier running down to Aquidneck to bring back Dr. Clarke himself. The physician enlarged his account somewhat: "The lumps were twenty-six or twenty-seven, distinct and not joined together . . . six of them were as great as a fist, and one as great as two fists; the rest each less than the other, and the smallest about the bigness of the top of a thumb."

Mr. Cotton retailed this corrected account from the pulpit; the matter looked far more serious than he had thought at first. The ministers and magistrates of the Bay elaborated Mrs. Hutchinson's misfortune into a classic of witchcraft. She had borne some twenty-seven monsters, approximately the number of the false conceptions she had foisted on the colony. "False conceptions" now had a double meaning. William Hutchinson's wife had consorted with the Devil, and she had brought forth monsters, doctrinal and physical.

Anne Hutchinson had been accused of Familism, but that was nothing to this horror. Now God had pointed at her with His own finger as the bride of evil, the devil's concubine. The details of her infernal child-bed were advertised all over New England and Old. Even six years later the excitement had not died down; in the solemn Westminster Assembly in London prelates argued hotly over the phenomenon, and white-haired divines sat before their guttering candles to write disquisitions on Anne Hutchinson's monsters. Thomas Welde adumbrated the subject in his introduction to Winthrop's *Short Story:*

"And see how the wisdom of God fitted this judgment to her sinne every way, for looke as she had vented mishapen opinions, so she must bring forth deformed

monsters; and as about 30 Opinions in number, so many monsters; and as those were publike, and not in a corner mentioned, so this is now come to be knowne and famous all over these Churches, and a great part of the world."

But this was not all. Mistress Hutchinson had not been alone in her fiendish intimacy with Satan. Belial had seduced her intimate friend Mary Dyer, and as for the midwife Jane Hawkins, she was the disciple not only of Mrs. Hutchinson, but of Mrs. Hutchinson's hellish consort. She had signed over her soul to the infernal keeping, and was a witch. There was no doubt of these things, for Mary Dyer and the midwife had already been found out.

1637 On October 17, about a month before Mrs. Hutchinson's civil trial, Mary Dyer had lain in child-bed, attended by Mrs. Hutchinson and Jane Hawkins, and with the gossiping as usual about her. Suddenly the bed on which she lay shook violently, the child died in her body, and what the women described as a "noisome savor" filled the room. Then strange things began to happen; some of the women were taken with extreme nausea, and hurried home, and all the rest were sent for because their children had convulsions, something they had never had before or since. Anne Hutchinson

and Jane Hawkins were left alone with their friend. Two hours later, Mary Dyer gave birth to a monstrosity.

The birth of a monstrosity was generally regarded as a portent, so Anne Hutchinson had desired to shield her friend from malicious gossip. She confided the situation to Mr. Cotton, and he agreed with her that the misfortune might properly be kept secret. The birth was registered simply as that of a stillborn child.

All would have been well, except that a prying neighbor got a glimpse of the monster before it was secretly buried. She had been unable to hold her tongue, and within a few months every woman in Boston had heard the news. When Anne Hutchinson, coming out of Boston Church "as a leper" had stood talking to Mary Dyer, a stranger had asked one of the bystanders who Mary Dyer was. "The woman who had the monster," was the prompt reply. Winthrop had overheard that remark, and was seized with delighted anticipation. He sent an elder to question Mrs. Hutchinson, just as she was leaving for Providence. She had frankly explained the situation, and Mr. Cotton's part in it. Thereupon Winthrop, driven by his salacious curiosity porno and by his desire to discover evil in Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends, called in simple Jane Hawkins, and

cross-questioned her in the presence of the elder and one of the magistrates. At first she would confess only that the head of the child was defective and misplaced, but when Winthrop pretended that Mrs. Hutchinson had revealed everything, Goodwife Hawkins blurted out the truth. Some of the details recorded by Winthrop in his journal were as follows:

Mary Dyer

"It was a woman child, stillborn, about two months before the just time, having life a few hours before; it came hiplings until she turned it; it was of ordinary bigness; it had a face, but no head, and the ears stood upon the shoulders and were like an ape's; it had no forehead, but over the eyes four horns, hard and sharp; two of them were above an inch long, the other two shorter . . . all over the breast and back full of sharp pricks and scales, like a thornback. . . . It had arms and legs as other children, but, instead of toes, it had on each foot three claws, like a young fowl, with sharp talons."

Mr. Cotton was questioned as to his part in the concealment of the phenomenon, but he explained that he thought this misfortune was for the private correction of the parents, and that he considered it providential that all the gossiping had been absent. He made a public apology for his action, which was well received.

Winthrop, upon the advice of the magistrates and elders of Boston, disinterred the little horror, and as he put it, "though it were much corrupted, yet most of those things were to be seen, as the horns and claws, the scales, etc., by upwards of a hundred people."

Just as matters reached this stage, William Dyer returned from Aquidneck to fetch his wife. By a strange providence, he was the very next Sunday called to answer before the church for "divers monstrous errors." The connection between errors and monsters was thus made plain to the entire congregation. Boston was given a salutary object-lesson in the peril of flirting with the Old Serpent, and the Dyers left for Aquidneck with a hideous reputation.

As for Jane Hawkins, she was quietly banished, and left for Aquidneck as well. There was no doubt that she was a witch, for it developed that she fell into trances and made speeches in Latin, and that she gave young wives oil of mandrakes and other stuff to cause conception.

Thus the suspicion that the whole Hutchinson affair had been based upon witchcraft was already strong when the news came that Jezebel herself had borne not one, but twenty-seven monsters. There was rejoicing in the Bay, and many unsteady consciences recovered

AH

from feelings of pity for the exiles. Many of the common people now realized that Winthrop and their other rulers had shown great wisdom in banishing such a perilous influence, and perhaps saving the colony from God's wrath. Though Mrs. Hutchinson had been sentenced for obscure reasons, God had stepped in with his own vote and suffrage, and proved the case against her.

As an anticlimax, her disciple Captain John Underhill was triumphantly proved a Familist. He had lost his commission and his citizenship, without being officially banished; but since all his friends had left the Bay, he decided to go to New Hampshire to join John Wheelwright. He had on more than one occasion helped to save the Bay from destruction by the Indians, and as a grudging tribute the Court had promised to buy him three hundred acres in New Hampshire. Early in September, 1638, he appeared before the Court to claim his gift; but the magistrates, always thrifty, decided to question him first about some of his rash speeches. Some disgruntled woman had repeated to the magistrates his remark to her that "he had lain under a spirit of bondage and a legal way five years, and could get no assurance, till at length, as he was taking a pipe of tobacco, the Spirit set home an absolute promise of

free grace, with such assurance and joy, as he had never since doubted of his good estate, neither should he, though he should fall into sin." This was a perfect expression of Familism; the Court promptly pronounced sentence of banishment on Underhill, and thereby was released from its promise of the three hundred acres in New Hampshire.

Boston Church determined to get at the bottom of this Familism, and arraigned Captain John the next Sunday. He defended himself in a long and frivolous speech. Surely, he said, if Saul was converted in the very act of persecuting Christians, could he not be converted while he was making a modest use of the creature called tobacco? He did not deserve the Court's sentence, he was sure Christ was his. But Mr. Cotton advised him to examine well the revelation and the joy of which he boasted, and directed him to come back the next Sunday.

The next Sunday the elders told the congregation a story that left little doubt of Captain John's Familism. One of his neighbors, a cooper, had a wife "young, beautiful, and withal of a jovial spirit and behavior," as the observant Winthrop noted. It appeared that Captain John frequently visited her in the afternoon when she was alone. Some of the good people of the

church observed this, and going very softly to the lovely sister's door, discovered it locked on the inside. The neighbors had then, quite properly, taxed the captain with this; and he agreed that his visits had the appearance of evil. But there was an explanation. The cooper's wife, he said, was in great trouble of mind and sore temptations, and he resorted to her to comfort her. When the door was found locked upon them, they were in private prayer together.

Before Boston Church the elders condemned this action. How would it look if they were to do the like? they exclaimed, while Captain John repressed a smile. Besides, when some of the church people had gone unexpectedly to call on the cooper's wife and comfort her, they had found her in a state of utmost content, and even happier than usual.

After that church-meeting, Captain John rushed off to New Hampshire as if he were pursued by a thousand Furies. Justice was too heavy-footed to catch up with him, and he was safely out of the Bay before adultery, punishable with death, was legally proved against him. A godly young woman came into Court and testified that he had solicited her chastity under pretence of Christian love; unsuccessfully, of course. He had boasted to her that he had often had his will of the

cooper's wife, "and all out of strength of love." He confessed that it had taken him six months to overcome the woman's rectitude; it was hard to believe that any woman could have resisted him so long, but eventually she was his. The Bay sent letter after letter to New Hampshire urging the authorities of that new plantation to take proper action against Underhill. But New Hampshire liked the brave captain, and elected him governor; and there he stayed until his own restlessness drove him to fresh fields.

Though the witchcraft and Familist scandals had settled the case against Anne Hutchinson, Boston went through a very gloomy period after she left. The church was in a low state; during the two years of the controversy not a single new member had been admitted to the congregation. The Aquidneck and New Hampshire contingents had drained the best blood away, and the new colonies at Hartford and New Haven had taken many people of consequence from the Bay. It was now an ardorless congregation that sat on the benches, and it was a tepid service that they sat through. Gone were the challenges, the discussions, the wild excitements and crises of the "Antinomian Controversy." Boston, having tasted turmoil and combat, did not altogether relish the dead calm that now set in. Calm

there was, but no real peace. Anne Hutchinson had shaken the very foundations of the church, the foundations that rested on moving sands. The church's infallibility in the eyes of the people had gone, and could not be restored.

And Jehovah, who might have been expected to shower blessings on the Bay for its punishment of the heretics, showered instead a series of calamities that seemed rather to point to divine displeasure. In May, after Governor Winthrop had finished his task of crushing the Hutchinson party, he had suddenly collapsed. 1638 For a month he lay tossing with fever, and his life was despaired of. When he was about again, he seemed, even in the excitement of tracking down the witchcraft horrors, to be melancholy and shaken.

On the afternoon of June first there had been a terrible earthquake, which lasted for four minutes. It came with a noise like the rattling of coaches in London, and shook the ships in the harbor. Men working in the fields threw down their tools, and rushed madly about, thinking the end of the world had come. Though the earthquake came from the west, and followed the path of the Aquidneck exiles, it was difficult to explain the manifestation as a reproof to the Islanders, since the Bay suffered more than they did. The ministers preferred to interpret it as a sign that calamitous changes were about to come in the kingdoms of Europe.

Moreover, there were epidemics of small-pox and fevers; during the fall there was an unheard-of succession of storms, huge tides, hurricanes, and shipwrecks. 1638 There were constant quarrels with Connecticut, which refused to be dominated by the Bay. The women of the colony seemed possessed. They indulged in an orgy of new and outlandish fashions, guided by recently arrived ladies from London. There was little to be done about this, for some of the most fantastically dressed were elders' wives.

Winthrop and Dudley tried to reassure themselves by adding solid acres to their already large possessions. They went to Concord, and going down the river about four miles, chose beautiful farms of a thousand acres apiece. A little creek separated the estates, and on the border were two great rocks, so they called the rocks the Two Brothers, remembering that they were brothers by their children's marriage; and so made up their old quarrel.

The elders, also, did their best to restore a solid peace to the sadly shaken colony. They declared a fast-day for December thirteenth, to pray for a revival of interest in religion. Mr. Cotton, with tears as usual,

humbled himself for his share in the Bay's misfortunes. Though he rejoiced that "certain people now in the Island" had been banished, he felt that in future the church ought to be a little milder with recreants, and fine and imprison rather than banish them. Plainly he was trying to placate Jehovah.

But Jehovah still showed his displeasure; for the very day after the fast two ships full of Boston people bound for New Haven were wrecked on Aquidneck. Anne Hutchinson's fellow-exiles rescued the Bostoners, but the Bay would almost have soon have lost them at sea as have God give Aquidneck this opportunity to return good for evil.

Jehovah roared at the Bay; but over the Island He spread His protecting wings. Anne Hutchinson slowly recovered her health; by midwinter she had come out of the waters of affliction like a swimmer from the surf, and was sending friends in Boston inimitable messages, tart, spicy, triumphant. Boston was horrified to see that the mother of monsters was not crushed by her guilt. The elders and ministers said nothing, but some of the people remembered her prophecy in the Court, and knew that the miracle she promised had come. The Bay had been chastised for punishing her; and Anne Hutchinson had been delivered from the hands of her enemies.

Chapter Fourteen

ANNE HUTCHINSON came out of her long illness transformed. The old medicinal wit came back to her, the old clarity of thought, and the pervading kindness. But she left behind her forever the desire to rally many people to her beliefs, the restless ambition to defend and fight and argue. She had never fought from a private ambition, she had fought for a principle, and for John Cotton. Now John Cotton had sunk out of sight, out of sound, and she was released from the obscure impulse that had dominated her from the day she had first heard him preach in St. Botolph's. She was quiet now, and her mind lived in a solitude of its own. Never again would she gather a little army around her, and contend for the Covenant of Grace. Her attempt had been idealistic, premature; she had lost her crusade, and left the Bay in the hands of Winthrop and Wilson.

What remained out of three intense years of struggle? The beloved voice was hers still, and the Covenant

of Grace, as they had been in Alford. But now there were many people who shared the truth with her; she had opened the way to each of them to live his own life of the spirit. She would continue to open the way to anyone who came to her. But she would never preach ? again. did so in Ports.

As she sat in the sweet relaxation of convalescence, her experience in the Bay took on fresh meaning. The vivid details of her trials before the magistrates and the ministers came back with new significance. In her trials she had stood for the beloved voice and the Covenant of Grace. But she had stood for something more, for freedom of conscience. Not for the Bay's beggarly freedom of conscience—that had proved a poor shelter indeed—but for her own. She had tried to defend the inscrutability of her own inner promptings.

But if she must follow her conscience, must not others follow theirs, wherever it led? People could not all think alike; God spoke to each man's need, sending new truths as the mind was ready to receive them. Even on the *Griffin* she had realized that, when she repeated to Mr. Symmes Christ's phrase, "I have yet many things to say, but ye cannot bear them now." Christ had many new things to say, now to this listening mind, now to that. As her thoughts crystallized, Anne

Hutchinson saw that the individual's right to his own beliefs was more important than anything else, even than the Covenant of Grace. It was for this right that she must now stand without flinching. Even Mr. Wilson had the right to believe as he wished. But he must not try to make other people conform to his beliefs. That was his great sin, and the sin of Winthrop and Dudley and Endicott. That was the evil at the heart of every theocracy; no church should have the power through the state to force obedience to its doctrines. Thus Anne Hutchinson arrived at toleration, a mystical toleration based on her belief in the continuing revelation of the beloved voice.

She realized at last why she had been so happy when she was cast out of Boston Church. It was because she did not believe in the church. She had clung to it as all her generation clung, as the most essential thing in the world. She had tried to capture the church as a stronghold for her own religion, and for John Cotton. That great battle she had lost; then she had lost John Cotton; and then she had lost even the right to share in the ordinances of the church. In her final defeat, her first feeling had been one of overwhelming gratitude.

The gratitude remained. The church meant organized religion, and organized religion was antitheti-

cal to her convictions. She knew at last that she had never wanted the church, or ministers, or elders, or deacons. She did not even want a creed. The very adopting of a creed implied that revelation had ceased once and for all. If the Holy Spirit was something that lived and grew in the soul of man, there were many things yet to be revealed and understood. Having a creed, men shut their ears to the voice of new truth. They lived in the past, in the minds of Calvin and Paul, shutting out the present, and denying the future.

She decided that she had been wrong to sit in the midst of eighty men and women, instructing them, even if she was in all humility being herself instructed by the beloved voice. Better to sit quietly with a few friends, and let the beloved voice speak where it would. As soon as she was well again, she told her followers that she would not hold meetings in Aquidneck as she had in Boston. Everyone was to seek the truth for himself. Now and then, not at any set time, and not necessarily on Sunday, for she had abandoned the idea of a day confined to worship, she gathered her family and a few friends about her. They all sat quietly, waiting for inner promptings, and anyone moved to do so spoke.

In short, six years before the Society of Friends was dreamed of, Anne Hutchinson followed the Quaker way of life. She had told all the Bay of immediate revelations and the witness of the Spirit while George Fox, founder of the Friends, was still a child; and while he was trudging through England looking for a true ministry, she abandoned ministry and dropped outward forms of religion. Years later, little meetings like hers were to spring up everywhere in the old world and the new; and George Fox, following the logic that had guided her experience, was to drop "priests and steeplehouses," as she had dropped them. The boy trudging through England, pestered with the desire for true light, was a born missionary; he spread through the world the faith that Anne Hutchinson, weary of the propagandist's life, nourished in the wilderness. But she had prepared the way, and her disciples became the first Friends in America.

She wrote to Henry Vane in Eng of her new convictions, and he followed her example, setting up a private worship in his own family, a practice he followed the rest of his life. He could not come to join the Aquidneck colony, for he had been caught up in the political crisis at home. Of all her Boston circle, Vane had been the most comprehending, and remained the most steadfast, and Mrs. Hutchinson sorely missed that generous mind. She felt impelled sometimes to go back to Eng-

land to be near Vane, but she, too, was caught up in a crisis near at hand.

While she lay struggling for her life, the exiles had organized Aquidneck as a theocracy, basing the new colony on the very principles that made the Bay necessarily inhospitable to new ideas. A theocracy was possible to maintain only if everyone thought alike; Massachusetts Bay, to defend its very existence, had exiled dissentients. Would not the same story be repeated? Aquidneck had been organized around her and her ideas; what if newcomers arrived with conflicting ideas? Aquidneck was governed "according to the word of God" as its compact of government stated, but who was to decide what was the word of God? Her new hospitality to the ideas of others quickened her perception. While she had been ill, the colony had started down the wrong path.

William Coddington had been chosen governor, or "judge," an Old Testament title. He was a man of the Winthrop stamp, seasoned in government, shrewd, solid, estimable. His sympathy for Anne Hutchinson's ideas had kept him firmly on the rebels' side all through the struggle in Boston. But though his religious ideas were new, he clung to old habits of political action. At bottom he was still a theocrat. Anne Hutchinson bore

him no ill-will, for he had bravely defended her in her trial before the Court, and his sincerity was unimpeachable. But he believed in the union of church and state, and this blocked the way to the toleration which now seemed essential to her.

About Christmas-time in 1638, while she was pondering the matter of Coddington's political ideas, there came marching into Pocasset one of the strangest figures Mrs. Hutchinson had ever encountered. He was Samuel Gorton, "Professor of the Mysteries of Christ," as he styled himself. He was half god, half crank. At Plymouth he had advertised his ideas of private inspiration, the right of laymen to preach, and the folly of ritual. These ideas ran along with those of Mrs. Hutchinson, but he had many crotchets besides, and on these she exercised her new-found tolerance. Gorton was a refugee from Plymouth, the first of many vari-colored exiles to take refuge in Aquidneck. Among his odd assortment of beliefs was a passionate devotion to English common law, and when this was put beside Mrs. Hutchinson's desire to separate church and state, a new conception of government was generated. Why should the state be based on the Bible, and enforce an established religion? Why should it not be based on civil law, as in England, but as a further step, leave

matters of religion to be decided by the individual conscience?

Led by Anne Hutchinson and Gorton, the people of Pocasset, including many of the commoners, attempted to get Coddington to relinquish some of his powers to the freemen. Early in January, 1639, they succeeded in modifying the constitution by having three "elders" elected to share the governor's rule, and what was more important, by gaining for the freemen the power of absolute veto.

Coddington stiffened against the opposition, and retaliated by appointing a constable to give warning of any "manifest breaches of the law of God that tend to civil disturbance." That sounded very much like the Bay. Coddington's interpretation of the "law of God" might be guided by his desire to keep in power; he might even find that the opposition party was "tending to civil disturbance," and crush it with the constabulary. As in the Bay, the issue had become one of religious freedom, and for that issue Anne Hutchinson must once more struggle.

Coddington went up to Boston for a few days in April, 1639, and while he was away the Hutchinsons perfected plans for a *coup d'état*. Upon his return, at the town-meeting of Thursday, April 28, he was suddenly confronted with a demand for a new election. He had been in office for less than a year, and had expected to keep his position indefinitely. A tumultuous session followed; the freemen insisted on election, and finally carried their point. William Hutchinson was elected governor by a large majority. Coddington and his supporters withdrew from the meeting, and held a session of their own. They were unwilling to yield to the majority, so they decided to leave Pocasset and make a new settlement. They went down to the southern part of the island, and founded Newport.

Pocasset, led by the Hutchinsons, now adopted a new compact of government. A democracy was established; class distinctions abolished; and all the male inhabitants, freemen and non-freemen, signed the new compact:

"We whose names are underwritten do acknowledge ourselves the loyal subjects of His Majesty King Charles, and in his name do hereby bind ourselves into a civil body politic; and do submit to his laws according to matters of justice."

Sixteen of the signers, not being able to write, made their marks. The proletariat had emerged.

This compact was in complete contrast to the first Aquidneck covenant. As if to signal the new order,

the name of the town was changed to Portsmouth. Majority rule was installed, William Hutchinson as chief magistrate was flanked by eight assistants, and provision was made for regular courts of justice, and trial by jury. But most important of all, the compact said nothing about government according to the word of God; it put government back upon English common law. From then on, civil affairs were civil affairs; the law had nothing to do with religion.

Church and state were separated; and when, nearly a year later, Newport and Portsmouth were united into a general Aquidneck government, this significant principle was carried over for the whole island. The union of the towns was inevitable; there was no ill-will between the Hutchinson and Coddington groups, and the break had not been too serious for both sides to recognize their common interests. Newport yielded to the democratic sentiment of Portsmouth, following its example in acknowledging the sovereignty of King Charles, and setting up civil machinery to replace the authority of the church. This move simplified matters; and Anne Hutchinson removed the last obstacle to union by persuading her husband to resign as chief magistrate so that Coddington could be elected governor of Aquidneck. Hutchinson accepted a humbler place as one of

the four magistrates of the joint government. The union was completed March 12, 1640; a new civil constitution was adopted for the Island, and the towns were allowed to retain their autonomy. Democracy, as expressed by the Hutchinson group, had overthrown theocracy.

Only one further step was necessary. Toleration must be adopted as a principle of government. In May, 1641, the Island took as its motto "*Amor vincet omnia,*" declared itself a democracy whose laws were to be made by a majority of the citizens, and then crowned its work by the following act:

"It is ordered that none shall be accounted a delinquent for doctrine."

This was the first declaration of absolute religious freedom in America. It crystallized in a statute and enunciated as a principle the hospitality to religious refugees that Roger Williams practised on the mainland. Aquidneck was one of the first communities in the world to establish religious freedom; Anne Hutchinson's group was the first Christian sect to adopt toleration for other sects. This was the full flowering of her creed, her true work had been accomplished.

Toleration appeared on the statute-book of the Island and in the less formal government of Providence, not as

a pious aspiration, but as the reflection of established practice. The spirit of Anne Hutchinson dominated the Island, and that of Roger Williams the mainland; these two expressed tolerance, but what was more difficult, they practised it. They welcomed every creed and sect; though Williams, more crotchety by temperament than Anne Hutchinson, was to live long enough to lend himself to the general antagonism to the Quakers. Aquidneck and Providence were the refuge of every unconforming soul; they seethed with preachers and faiths.

Portsmouth had no meeting-house, but it had religions of many colors. When the town was first settled, a church had been ordered built, but it was never built while Anne Hutchinson was in Portsmouth. Since she had walked out of Boston Church as a "Heathen and Publican" she had never entered another church. Her idea of intimate circles waiting receptively for the truth to speak through them took hold among her neighbors, and in Portsmouth religion was freed from the formality and tediousness of the Bay. Little groups grew up spontaneously around natural religious leaders; her own group was the most influential, but Gorton had his following, and other teachers freely came and went.

There was a meeting-house in Newport, but the town

soon divided into two chief sects, one of them Baptist, and several minor ones. In Providence Mrs. Hutchinson's sister, Katherine Marbury Scott, gained considerable influence as a religious figure, converting Roger Williams temporarily to the Baptist faith. Religion became protean in Rhode Island; Francis Doughty the Presbyterian gained a following; Gorton the chronic agitator went from spot to spot carrying his fantastic ideas; one Herne taught that women had no souls; Green of Providence maintained that women should have perfect liberty to choose their religion. Cotton Mather for once described a situation accurately when he said:

"I cannot learn that the first planters of this colony were agreed in any one principle so much as this, 'that they were to give one another no disturbance in the exercise of religion'; and tho' they have sometimes had some difference among them, as to the exercise of that principle also, I believe there was never held such a variety of religions together in so small a spot of ground as have been in that colony . . . so that, if a man had lost his religion, he might find it at the general muster of opinionists!"

Under all the variety of religions ran a common basis: rebellion against the supremacy of any one church,

and respect for individual experience. All the rest of New England had accepted the Law, but the future Rhode Island elected the more complicated rule of the Spirit. Implanted in Rhode Island by Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams, toleration spread to Maryland and Pennsylvania, and finally across the Atlantic to the authors of the French Revolution, who drew their conception of the universal rights of man largely from the charters of the more advanced American colonies. The little path hewn out in Rhode Island was to grow into a high-road of human liberty.

Boston Church could not regard this spirit of religious freedom with equanimity. No sooner had the Hutchinson group left the Bay than the elders, itching with the proselyting spirit, began a campaign to dominate the exiles. Under the pretext that most of the Islanders were still members of Boston Church, and could not join a new church without the permission of the elders, the Bay tried to meddle in the religious life of Aquidneck. Two years after the Island was founded, Boston Church sent three delegates to attempt a rapprochement. The mission was chosen with care; it consisted of Captain Edward Gibbons, William Hibbens, a Boston merchant, and John Oliver, who had been a Hutchinson deputy and one of the signers of the Wheelwright petition. As Thomas Welde said, these were "men of a lovely and winning spirit, as most likely to prevail."

The three started on their mission Monday morning, March 6, 1640, and after six days' very hard going they arrived in Newport. They asked the brethren to call a meeting, so that they might deliver their messages from Boston Church. The request was granted, and the delegation met with a friendly reception. A letter from Boston Church was read, and satisfactory answers delivered.

But at Portsmouth, which the mission then visited, affairs were very different. Mr. Coggeshall entertained the delegates hospitably enough, but when they asked for a church-meeting as they had in Newport, they were told that unfortunately Portsmouth was busy with a town-meeting that night. Moreover, the Portsmouth people did not believe that one church had power over another, so the town could not recognize the Boston delegates as having any business with them. In any case, there was no church in town. Portsmouth had done with churches.

1640

There was nothing to do but make a house-to-house canvass. The mission began with the Hutchinson house, interviewing William Hutchinson first. He had not been

excommunicated from Boston Church, and the delegates tried to deal with him as if he were still a member, and still under the guidance of the elders. They tried to pry him loose from his wife's influence, and make him acknowledge himself an obedient child of the Bay church. But he answered quietly:

"I am more tied to my wife than to the church, and I think her to be a dear saint and servant of God."

This one recorded utterance of William Hutchinson summed up his life.

With some trepidation, the brethren then interviewed Anne Hutchinson. They got no honey from her. "We have a message to do you from the Lord and from our church," they informed her.

She answered, "There are Lords many and gods many, but I acknowledge but one Lord. Which Lord do you mean?"

"We come in the name of but one Lord, and that is God," said the Bostoners.

Then she said, "So far we agree. And where we do agree," she added with one of her disconcerting flashes, "let it be set down."

The agreement between Anne Hutchinson and the delegates stopped short at this point. She refused to accept their message, and they left her house with

smarting nerves. "But for our church she would not acknowledge it any church of Christ," they sadly reported to the Boston congregation a few days later. They never finished their report of the low state of Portsmouth, for while they were talking of Anne Hutchinson Mr. Cotton suddenly rose and cut them short. With more bitter personal feeling than he perhaps realized, he cried, "They were in Covenant with us as a wife to the Husband, but like a Harlot she will be gone for all her covenant."

After two weeks' deliberation, Boston Church decided to cut off the stubborn Islanders as "Heathen and Publicans," leaving the door open to any that would repent and ask Boston to forgive them. So matters rested for the moment.

But Thomas Leverett, ruling elder of Boston Church, who once had been Mrs. Hutchinson's supporter, could not take her defiance quietly. He sent her a long letter calling her a haughty Jezebel, a railer and reviler, and asked sardonically, "What has become of the light you once shined in, in these parts?" Also, he grievously misquoted Revelation, and Mrs. Hutchinson's reply, which exposed his blunder, must have given him some chagrin. Her letter began:

"If it were the true Light, in which you say I did

once shine, I am sure the Author thereof, and the Maintainer of it is God, and it shall break forth more and more unto the perfect Day, and when I was with you it discovered the best Light in your self to be Darkness, as your self confessed to me in your own Parlour. And if what you called Railing and Reviling were a truth of God, acted by him through me, then you have called the Spirit of God a Railer and Reviler."

This tart reply was disconcerting, but what could one expect of Jezebel? She had been proved a witch, and Boston had plenty of indications that the Sorceress of the Island was still exerting her spells. The story of young William Collins, for instance, the Bay could explain only by witchcraft.

The summer of 1640, Collins, a newcomer to America, was employed to teach the Hartford school. His friend Hales went to Portsmouth, where he immediately became Mrs. Hutchinson's disciple. Collins's Hartford acquaintances knew all about Mrs. Hutchinson. They told him his friend Hales was a lost man, he had fallen into the toils of a powerful sorceress. Collins was alarmed, and wrote his friend, begging him to come away from peril. Hales replied. The morning after receiving that letter, Collins was not to be found in his room. He had vanished overnight without a sound. The

next thing Hartford heard was that Collins was in Portsmouth, the ardent disciple of Mrs. Hutchinson, and that he was to marry her daughter Anne. Witchcraft certainly.

The next summer Collins came up to Boston with Francis Hutchinson, Anne's third son, to attend to business affairs for the family. Boston took no chances with the son and son-in-law of a sorceress. The two young men were summoned before the Council, imprisoned, and sentenced to pay prodigious fines, which Winthrop justified "because that family had put the country to so much charge in the synod and other occasions to the value of £500 at least." They refused to pay the fines, and so, when winter made the Boston jail uninhabitable, they were banished from the colony on pain of death.

This dastardly treatment of her sons showed Anne Hutchinson how much power the Bay still had over her and her family. Though Boston's attempt to meddle in the Aquidneck church had come to nothing, there were ominous developments in the political sphere. As the months went on it became plain that Massachusetts was trying to establish a protectorate over Aquidneck and Providence, with a view to annexation.

For some time the Bay had been engaging in a series

of miserable plots with renegade Indians against the English of Rhode Island. Miantonomo, the Narragansett sachem, was the generous friend of every white man in New England; he had won the Pequot war for the Bay and literally saved it from destruction. But now the Bay, for reasons of its own, was trying to work up a case against Miantonomo, and had made a pact with his bitter enemy Uncas, who was chief of the great Mohegan tribe. Uncas was a turn-coat Pequot and a thorough rogue. Certain of his petty sachems, with the frank connivance of the Bay, were harrying the white settlers on Aquidneck and the mainland. Englishmen's cattle were driven off into Mohegan villages, or came home from the woods with arrows in their flanks. Uncas's tributary chief, Punhom, was caught crawling out of the chimney-top of a white man's house, his arms full of loot. Pilfering, abuse of white children, and depredations on crops and stock flourished among the Mohegans, while the Bay, under whose protection the tribe had lately come, consistently refused to correct the situation.

Renegade Indians played into the Bay's hands, and renegade whites forwarded the Bay's program of annexation. A group of Providence settlers led by GTV Benedict Arnold, who traded rum to the Indians, and had a disreputable character, got into a dispute with Gorton, who had moved with his followers to the mainland. The Arnold group appealed to the Bay against the Gortonists, and the Bay shrewdly seized its opportunity. Governor Winthrop told the petitioners that he would take them under the protection of the Bay if they would accept its jurisdiction, and this bait was swallowed. Winthrop, recording the action of the General Court of September, 1642, made this remarkable statement:

"Four of Providence, who could not consort with Gorton and that company, and therefore were continually injured and molested by them, came and offered themselves and their lands, etc., to us, and were accepted under our government and protection. This we did partly to rescue these men from unjust violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts either under ourselves or Plymouth. And the place was likely to be of use to us, especially if we should have occasion of sending out against Indians of Narragansett, and likewise for an outlet into the Narragansett Bay, and seeing it came without our seeking, and would be no charge to us, we thought it not wisdom to let it slip."

The Bay's plan to "draw in the rest in those parts" was obvious to Providence and Aquidneck alike. The Bay was creeping down upon the Island. What would

happen if the spurious protectorate established on the mainland was extended to Aquidneck? Even more sinister were the rumors that the Bay was indeed preparing to "send out against Indians of Narragansett." It was a fantastic situation; the Bay was plotting with the Mohegans against its staunchest allies the Narragansetts and against fellow-Englishmen. Relations became more and more strained; the Bay shut off trade with the Islanders, and they were forced to turn to the friendly Dutch for supplies. There were anxious consultations between the Island and the mainland, and it was decided that Roger Williams should go to England as soon as the ships started running in the spring, and with Henry Vane's help, get a royal charter for Providence and Aquidneck.

Meanwhile, Anne Hutchinson was fearful for herself and her family. She had seen how her sons were clapped into prison when they went on a peaceful errand to Boston; if the Bay succeeded in establishing a "protectorate" over Aquidneck, even worse things might happen.

In the summer of 1642 William Hutchinson died. She was bowed under his loss. For thirty years he had been at her side, quiet, devoted, sensitive. He had been identified with her, with her thought, her struggle, her

hope; through every crisis he had been steadfast, a sustaining presence.

Concern for her children helped Anne Hutchinson through her grief. For their sake she must make one more attempt to find security, even if it meant leaving Aquidneck and the friends who had followed her there. In her quandary, Captain John Underhill came forward with a practicable suggestion. He had settled in Stamford, in the New Netherlands, and he wrote urging her to come and settle among the Dutch. She welcomed the idea; the Netherlands people were generous to religious refugees, and under their protection her family would be safe from the Bay.

The older children were well settled, and in no great danger. Her second son Richard had gone to London to better his fortunes under the care of his wealthy uncle Richard Hutchinson. The Savages remained at the Mount, and Edward and Samuel decided to stay behind. She would take Francis, and Anne and William Collins, and the four youngest children, and find them a new home. Thirty-five families from the district decided to join her; wherever she went, she was surrounded with disciples.

And yet, with all the comfort of having friends about her, and the prospect of security at last, Anne Hutchin-

son was disturbed with forebodings as she prepared for the journey. The menacing text about the water of affliction hung over her, as in those days when she was making ready to follow John Cotton to America. She cried to the God that had rescued Daniel, to the God that had sheltered Hagar and Ishmael in the desert. But the beloved voice was silent as she turned to the south, once more an exile.

1642
friend,
of Thos'
Cornell.

Chapter Fifteen

LATE in the summer of 1642 the Aquidneck refugees arrived in the New Netherlands, driving their cattle before them. They had walked down along the Sound, past the English villages spreading over land claimed by the Dutch, thirty-five English families who had fled from their own countrymen to take refuge under the flag of the Prince of Orange. The expedition was led by John Throgmorton, a Baptist from Providence who had lived previously in Nantasket and Salem, and had his fill of the Bay.

Once more Anne Hutchinson was flying from the Bay with little Susanna's hand in hers, and her children stumbling wearily beside her. The long miles unwound under her feet like thread from Fate's spindle. William was dead. Fear had rooted her up from her home, and she was coming to strangers to ask for peace. Everything was new and foreign; even the crabs cast up on the beach wore on their claws the orange, white, and blue, colors of the flag under which she was to live.

She would have to swear allegiance to that flag, and to the States General, and the Prince of Orange.

She found a friendly symbol in the name of the town where the exiles stopped. It was Vredeland, Land of Peace. She would settle here in the Land of Peace; and adjoining it she found a beautiful peninsula bathed by the Sound, with a river, and a spring, and a stream. She asked her friend John Throgmorton to buy it for her family; and by October she was proprietress of Anne Hoock's Neck,[1] and Hutchinson River, and the curious Split Rock, and the rich oyster-beds where the Mohegans thronged. The Throgmortons took the next peninsula to the west, which they called Throg's Neck; and the rest of the expedition settled near by, on little tracts a mile or so apart.

1642

Throgmorton had found no difficulty in making his arrangements. When he went to the fort in Manhattan to ask the West India Company director, Willem Kieft, for permission to settle, it was granted him with blustering carelessness. Kieft's conception of administering the Netherlands colony was to sit safe in the fort, guzzling and swearing; to wink at the irregularities of the freebooters that infested trade; to permit the sale of spirits and guns to the Indians and then to descend on them like an infatuated bully when they misbehaved; to allow the English from Virginia to settle the Jersey coast, and the New Englanders to pre-empt the Connecticut mainland as far as Stamford, and the whole eastern half of Long Island, and then to write them furious protests in Latin. Safe in the fort he worshipped Mammon, and let the tedious affairs of state tangle under his feet.

---

[1] Now Pelham Neck.

Kieft sold to the newcomers land which he pretended was his. Two years before he had gone through the gestures of buying for the Company the great Mohegan tract that extended from Norwalk nearly to Hell Gate. But the Indian proprietors claimed that Kieft had defrauded them; he had written down their names in a great book, but never paid them their due. Moreover, he did not even register the purchase with the Dutch Chamber, as he was required to do. But it was a part of this very tract that he sold to Throgmorton and Mrs. Hutchinson and the rest on October second; he calmly pocketed the English money, but made no further payment to the Mohegans. Twenty-three years later, when Thomas Pell was acquiring these same lands, he found no patent or ground-brief for them, and was forced to buy them anew from the Indians. Naturally, the Mohegans regarded the Aquidneck colonists as usurpers of

1642
23
1665

their land, for it had brought them not one fathom of wampum.

Completely unsuspecting, the newcomers settled down on the land to which, in the eyes of the Indians, they had no title. Anne Hutchinson was never able to understand the curious incident that took place while her house was being built. She had made friends with a certain Captain John Sands and his wife, who had lived for some time in the Dutch territory. They were hospitable, tolerant in their religious life, and helpful to their neighbors. Mrs. Sands was like her a gifted doctor, and worked remarkable cures on Indians and white settlers. These new friends enthusiastically helped in plans for the Hutchinson house, and Captain Sands and a friend of his offered to build it themselves.

JAMES Sr

John 2 Cornell
d. m. Jas
Sands Jr.

One day Captain Sands was at work alone, for he had sent his companion for provisions, which had to be brought from some distance. Suddenly, above the noise of his hammering, he heard a great shout. A company of Indians had appeared from nowhere. They gazed at him for a few moments, then sat down on some unhewn logs. With his heart pounding, Sands went on with his work. They watched every stroke. Then they gathered up his tools and gave them to him, and put his broad-axe on his shoulder. They made signs for him to go away. Sands thought his best course was to take no notice of them, and he went on shaping his logs.

At length one of the Indians said, "*Ye-hah Mumuneketock.*" (Come, let us go.) And away they went to the shore, where they gathered clams and oysters. But soon they came back again, and saw Sands at work as before. Once more they gathered up his tools, put them in his hands, and motioned him to go away. Once more he silently ignored them, wondering how long it would be before his own broad-axe was sunk in his back. But the Indians were very patient. They waited a long time for him to stop working; then said, "*Ye-hah Mumuneketock,*" and disappeared.

As soon as they were out of sight, Captain Sands gathered up his tools in earnest, and ran blindly toward home. On the way he met his companion, and they both rushed to Mrs. Hutchinson and told her that they dared not continue working on her house. None of them could understand the strange afternoon's business; Mrs. Hutchinson had paid well for the land, why should the Indians resent her building a house? She found other men to go on with the work, and nothing more occurred.

The magnificent autumn came. Anne Hutchinson watched the Indians harvest their fields of maize, and

admired their ingenious trick of using the corn-stalks as poles for their many-colored beans. Over her head the sky darkened with the flight of thousands of turtle-doves to the south. There were gray cranes and white, and phenomenal wild turkeys and geese; and in the rivers the deer were frightened into water-traps by the Indians beating flat thigh-bones. She was not afraid of the Indians, though they loved to paint their faces with red and white lines so as to look like demons, and wore great barbarous cloaks of plaited turkey-feathers. The Narragansetts and their splendid chief Miantonomo had been her good friends, and though these Mohegans were the enemies of the Narragansetts, she felt that at heart they were simple children. She would make this a Land of Peace. She felt safely out of the Bay's grasp, never realizing that through its allies, the Mohegans, the Bay could reach to her very door.

She and her children soon moved into their house on Anne Hoock's Neck, and watched winter darken the Sound. With four children left behind in New England, and Richard in London, her household seemed small, and without William, it seemed bereft. Though Francis was only twenty-two, he and young William Collins bravely took their places as men of the family. Anne, Collins's wife, was sixteen, then came Mary and

Katherine, two years apart, William, who was eleven, and nine-year-old Susanna. But she was seldom left alone with her children; disciples sought her out, as always. Though the Throgmortons and THOS! Cornells and others of her Aquidneck friends were some distance away, many of them came to her for the quiet services that for four years had been her practice. She was surrounded by people of every sect, as she had been in Aquidneck; but here among the placid Dutch there were no religious disputes. The mysterious influence of her personality once more went out to people of all sorts; there in the midwinter she planted the imperishable small seed of the Covenant of Grace.

She even won over the Mohegans, and they got into the habit of coming to her house. They played with the children, they came for remedies when they were sick, and in gratitude brought her small maize-cakes baked on hot stones.

Late in February they came to her with frightful news. The Dutch had turned against their neighbors and natural allies the Mohegans, as the Bay was turning against its friends the Narragansetts. The Mohawks from the northwest had come down to exact tribute of the Mohegans at Tapaan—ninety braves armed with guns sold them by the Dutch. The Mohegans had no

guns; the wicked Swannekens, as they called the Dutch, sold arms to the Mohegans' enemies but not to them, who had always been their allies. The Tapaans had fled to Pavonia (Jersey City), four or five hundred of them, in deadly terror. Some of them had stayed at Pavonia, others had gone to Corlear's Hook, on Manhattan, and camped by the oyster-beds. And Kieft, flouting the opportunity to gain the Mohegans' lasting gratitude, had treacherously sent an expedition against them in the dead of night. The Swannekens had murdered their allies, they had massacred the women and children, they had thrown the infants on their boards into the icy river. When the squaws had jumped in the river to save their babies, the Dutch had laughed, and made a sport of keeping mothers and children from coming back to the shore. They had cut children into bits and thrown them into the water. Eighty Indians were dead at Pavonia, forty at Corlear's Hook. And all this the Swannekens had done to their allies the Mohegans. Mrs. Hutchinson's informants admitted that some Dutch people had been tomahawked the summer before; but this was because the Dutch traders sold spirits to the young braves, and they were unused to drinking, it made them violent.

Dutch

Kieft's War
1643 x
against
Mohegans

Frightful news, indeed. There were Mohegan reprisals; Dutch colonists were massacred, bouweries smoked, and burning cattle bellowed in the barns. Some of Anne Hutchinson's Dutch neighbors were so terrified that they fled to the fort at Manhattan, and some even went back to Holland. But the little English colony was unmolested. With the true pacifism of her faith, Anne Hutchinson assured her children and her friends they were safe. Her confidence made a great impression; even her enemy Captain Edward Johnson heard of it in the Bay:

1643

"The Indians in those parts forewarned them of making their abode there; yet this could be no warning to them, but still they continued, being amongst a multitude of Indians, boasted they were become all one Indian; and indeed this woman, who had the chiefe rule of all the roast, being very bold in her strange Revelations and misapplications, tells them, though all nations and people were cut off around them, yet should not they."

In the midst of the upheaval, Roger Williams came down to Manhattan to take ship for England, since he could not sail from unfriendly Boston. He was hurrying to ask Vane's help in getting a charter for Providence and the Island, but he could not resist trying to settle the Indian trouble. Generous and peace-loving as

ever, he threw himself into the situation, and helped make a truce between the Mohegans and the Dutch who had so foully betrayed them. Both sides were anxious for peace; the Indians wanted to plant their maize, and the Dutch wanted to let their cattle out of the empty barns to graze. By May the truce was declared; and Williams bade Anne Hutchinson farewell and carried off her messages to Henry Vane.

The maize came up green and tender on the Indians' unfenced fields. The Dutch cattle, untended by herdsmen, roamed through the woods, and coming on the young corn, ruined the fields. Year after year this happened. Every spring the Mohegans complained to Kieft, and every spring Kieft shrugged his shoulders, and promised to do something about it. Perhaps he loved to see Dutch cattle fatten on Indian corn; in any case, eating and drinking were better than bothering about herdsmen. So nothing was done, as usual.

Anne Hutchinson planted corn, too, and apple-trees, and herbs and flowers. It was soothing to set out the little trees and bury the seeds, with the shining estuary of the Hutchinson River below her. Perhaps a good time was coming now. God had thrown his protecting mantle about her family through all the Mohegan troubles. Now she could breathe again; peace had

come, healing her weariness. Surely the Indians would not break their truce; but even if they did, Daniel's God would still be with her. Her long apprehension began to dissolve in the pleasant warmth of the sun.

She left her garden rows, and went back to her Bible, to the words of Solomon the Preacher:

> *"As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child: even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all.*
>
> *"In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that, or whether they both shall be alike good.*
>
> *"Truly the light is sweet, and a pleasant thing it is for the eyes to behold the sun."*

In the Bay the Mohegan chief Uncas had made a great pact with the English. Laying his hand on his breast, he had said to Winthrop, "This heart is not mine, but yours; command me in any difficult thing, I will do it." The truce was cemented soon in a spectacular way.

Early in September, 1643, the elders and ministers were meeting in Boston for one of their interminable

conferences; and there were meeting also the commissioners for the United Colonies. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Hartford, and New Haven had united into a confederation, leaving out Providence and Aquidneck as not fit for alliance. The commissioners were trying to decide what to do about Miantonomo, sachem of the Narragansetts, friend of Anne Hutchinson and Samuel Gorton and all the infamous heretics. Miantonomo was in their power at last; Uncas had defeated him in a great battle near Norwich, and had taken him prisoner, for the Narragansett was encumbered with a coat of mail which Gorton had given him. Uncas brought his prize up to the English, the greatest sachem ever captured in New England. Should he put him to death? The commissioners hid their delight; they must proceed carefully, for they did not want a war just then with the Narragansetts. Later, perhaps, when Providence and the Island were "drawn in" under their jurisdiction, they would have to fight that tribe, but what they wanted now was to get rid of its sachem quietly. They finally turned the matter over to the clergy.

The ministers and elders were not embarrassed with complications of state. Miantonomo was "of the cursed race of Ham," he was Anne Hutchinson's friend, and the Bay would be well rid of him. But he must not be

put to death on the Bay territory. Let Uncas take him back to Norwich, and there execute him. The English would send along two men to see that everything was done properly.

The strange procession marched down day after day to the great plain near Norwich where the battle had taken place. First came the two Englishmen, then the magnificent sachem of the Narragansetts, then Uncas and his brother. When they reached the edge of the plain, Uncas gave the signal. His brother sank his tomahawk in the prisoner's skull. Miantonomo, New England's greatest Indian friend, fell without a sound. Uncas carved a piece of warm flesh from his enemy's shoulder, and ate it, saying that it was the sweetest of meat, and strengthened his heart.

The Bay was learning to use the Mohegans to eliminate embarrassing people.

On September 15, Randall Holden, who had been exiled with Anne Hutchinson, and had become one of Gorton's chief disciples, was writing a letter to Governor Winthrop. It was not a respectful letter, and later he was arrested and cruelly punished by the Bay for writing it. He addressed Winthrop as the "Great and Honored Idol General now set up in the Massachusetts," and protested to him against the Bay's plots to

annex the Narragansett region. He had not heard of Miantonomo's murder, but some prophetic impulse made him throw back at Winthrop the report that Miantonomo was going to lose his head for selling land to the Bay's enemies. Holden directly accused Winthrop of fomenting Mohegan outrages against the English settlers. "We demand when we may expect some of you to come up to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of these foul and inhuman wrongs you have done to us your own countrymen, in that you abet and back these base Indians to abuse us. They think themselves secure, for they look to be upheld by you in whatever they do, and persuade themselves that you tolerate and maintain them in their stealing, abusing of our children, and the like; for you have your diligent ledgers here among them that inculcate daily upon this, how hateful we are unto you."

Holden had discovered what Anne Hutchinson had not yet realized; that the Bay had no boundaries, for down every Indian path as far as Hell Gate ran the Mohegans. Uncas's men were so skilful in concealing grudges that, once her house was built, they never indicated by their manner that she was a squatter on their land, or treated her as the enemy of the Great White Sachem Winthrop.

In September, 1643, a few days before Randall Holden in Rhode Island wrote his accusations to Winthrop, Anne Hutchinson stood in her doorway looking at the fields of corn, tawny in the morning sunshine. She was thinking of what one of her neighbors had said the day before, "When the corn is ripe and harvested, the Indians will break their truce." As she stood there, a group of Mohegans padded softly up. They exchanged friendly greetings, and then the Indians walked through the house and grounds, as if looking to see if there were any strange men about. But everything was quite as usual; William Collins and Francis were at work in the field, and the children were at little tasks about the house and garden. The Indians nodded farewell, and went away.

In the afternoon they came back, only this time there were more of them, and there were strange faces among them. Anne Hutchinson wondered why they had put on so much demonic paint. Perhaps they were off on some strange Indian ceremony, for they seemed excited. The dogs began to bark at the strange apparitions, and the Mohegans asked to have them tied up, for they were afraid they would bite. The dogs were tied up.

Uncas's men whipped out their tomahawks. Anne

Hutchinson saw four demons rush at her sons. Bread of adversity, water of affliction—she had lived out that promise, but God had never warned her of this horror. William Collins and Francis were struck down, their skulls crushed and bleeding. Anne Collins fell beside her husband. Mrs. Hutchinson caught Susanna to her breast to shut out the sight from the screaming child. Katherine was half over a fence, but a Mohegan caught her by the hair and dragged her back to a stump. Anne Hutchinson heard the sickening blow; she saw Mary and little William rush sobbing to her, as if she could save them. Then two Indians were upon her, and the child was torn from her breast. A tomahawk fell. Anne Hutchinson was dead.

Susanna struggled in her captor's arms, and suddenly he remembered the games they had played together, and he softened. "Come, you shall be my daughter," he said, and carried her tenderly off, while the rest stayed behind to burn the house, and the cattle in the barn, and all that usurped their land.

The news came to Randall Holden just as he was sealing his letter to Winthrop. With tears streaming down his face, he ripped it open again, and added a postscript:

"We need not put a seal unto this our warrant, no more than you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of blood and horrible massacres now made at the Dutch plantation of our loving countrymen, women, and children, which is nothing else than the complete figure, in a short epitome, of what we have writ."

Postscript

ANNE HUTCHINSON was cut down before her story was finished. The drama was played out by her friends and her enemies on a wider stage.

The Mohegans went on after the Hutchinson massacre, resolved to wipe out every white settler. The Aquidneck colonists fled back to the Island, the Dutch to the fort at Manhattan. It took Captain John Underhill to bring peace at last; he defeated the Mohegans, and avenged Anne Hutchinson's death. An Indian took over her deserted farm and what he thought was her name; a red-skinned Annie Hoock fished in the Hutchinson River, lord of his land again. Little Susanna, rescued from the Indians three years after her capture, was sent back to her relatives in Boston. But she had learned the Mohegan tongue and forgot her own, and was loath to be an English child again.

Includ Thos' Cornell

John Winthrop's last years were visited by the heart-burnings that always spoiled his sense of accomplishment when he compared his public success with his private ambitions. He had dreamed of an empire, and had to be satisfied with Massachusetts. Most of those he called "the better sort" had left the Bay for other colonies, and he knew that they had gone because of the Hutchinson banishment and similar troubles. Winthrop realized that the Bay mold could not hold the more volatile, more precious stuff that ran out into freer patterns. Boston seemed plundered; he cried, in the most moving confession of his journal, "Ask thy conscience, if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles, if thou wouldst have expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there."

Moses without the Israelites, that was Winthrop dying in 1649, a father deserted by his children. He lay, looking out at the house across the way where Anne Hutchinson had gathered Boston about her. She had been his neighbor, one of the People Israel, and he had sent her out to live in the wilderness, and to die the most frightful of all deaths. Dudley came to his bedside and asked him to sign an order for the expulsion of a religious rebel like Anne Hutchinson. But Winthrop waved away the quill. "No," he said wearily, "of that work I have done too much already."

John Cotton gradually ceased to weep in the pulpit because he had befriended Anne Hutchinson, or to weep

Postscript

ANNE HUTCHINSON was cut down before her story was finished. The drama was played out by her friends and her enemies on a wider stage.

The Mohegans went on after the Hutchinson massacre, "resolved" to wipe out "every white settler." The dispossessed colonists had gone back to the Island, the Dutch to the fort at Manhattan. It took Captain John Underhill to bring peace at last; he defeated the Mohegans, and avenged Anne Hutchinson's death. An Indian took over her deserted farm and what he thought was her spirit; a rock-island called Anne Hoeck Island in the Hutchinson River, and of his land again. Little Susanna, rescued from the Indians three years after her capture, was sent back to her relatives in Boston. But she had learned the Mohegan tongue and forgot her own, and was loath to be an English child again.

John Winthrop's last years were vexed by the humblings that always spoiled his sense of accomplishment when he compared his public success with his

private ambitions. He had dreamed of an empire, and had to be satisfied with Massachusetts. Most of those he called "the better sort" had left the Bay for other colonies, and he knew that they had gone because of the Hutchinson turbulence and similar troubles. Winthrop realized that the Bay itself could not hold the more volatile, more productive; if they ran out into other pastures, Boston seemed glad of it. He cried, in the most moving confession of his journal, "Ask thy conscience, if thou wouldst have plucked up thy stakes, and brought thy family 3000 miles, if thou wouldst have expected that all, or most, would have forsaken thee there."

Moses without the Israelites, that was Winthrop's tragedy then, a father deserted by his children. His last, looking out at the house across the way where Anne Hutchinson had gathered Boston about her. She had been his neighbor, one of the Prague Israel, and turned her out way to live in the wilderness, and to die the most dreadful of all deaths. Dudley came to his bedside and asked him to sign an order for the expulsion of a religious rebel like Anne Hutchinson. But Winthrop turned away the quill. "No," he said sharply, "of that work I have done too much already."

John Cotton gradually ceased to weep in the pulpit because he had befriended Anne Hutchinson, or to weep in private because he had cast her out of the church and out of his life. In his complaisant mind merciful shadows crept out and wrapped themselves around those years troubled by her presence. He was inwardly tranquil again by the time the *Short Story* and the controversial books it evoked were published in England. He answered them in his *Way of Congregational Churches Cleared,* a shameful document which enhanced his reputation. His hands, freed from the Hutchinson soil, shaped and fixed Congregational polity; he was New England's beloved patriarch. Snowy-haired and stout, John Cotton went down to death two days before Christmas, 1652, with fitting portents from Heaven. There appeared "a comet, having a dim light, waxing dimmer and dimmer, a very signal testimony that God had removed a burning and a shining light out of the heaven of his church here, with celestial glory above."

Wheelwright, Williams, and Gorton outlived their persecutors by many years. Wheelwright consumed his enormous energies in building up one northern settlement after another. He was finally exonerated by the Bay, and went off to England for a long happy holiday, living at Vane's house, and renewing his friendship with his old football rival, Oliver Cromwell. He

died at eighty-seven in the midst of a devoted flock in Salisbury, Massachusetts. Roger Williams lived to see Rhode Island united into a powerful little colony which turned Quaker in spite of his stubborn efforts. Gorton grew into a tranquil mystic, pacing in meditation down his long avenue of trees. His disciples regarded him as a holy man.

The principles for which Anne Hutchinson had struggled soon emerged to play their rôles in history. A year after her death toleration became for the first time a major issue in England. Vane, now knighted and a great figure in England, with Roger Williams at his side, entered the first Westminster Assembly of English and Scottish prelates, and enunciated the obnoxious doctrine of religious freedom. The opposition, hard-pressed for arguments against toleration, exhumed the manuscript of Winthrop's *Short Story* and rushed it through three editions in 1644 to prove that disaster had resulted in Vane's "own Paradise of New England" when as governor he had encouraged Mrs. Hutchinson's sectaries. Toleration was mowed down by the Assembly, but under the Commonwealth it began to take root and grow. But Sir Harry Vane was, like Anne Hutchinson, premature in his vision, and at the Restoration he suffered martyrdom. Crowned with the praise

of Puritan England, he mounted Tower Hill to the scaffold. Hanged for treason

Qk.

A few years after Anne Hutchinson died the essence of her doctrine was given a name and a form. The Society of Friends was organized; it spread largely by its fanatical exaggerations, and then flourished by what it had in common with Anne Hutchinson's beliefs: immediate revelation; non-resistance; abandonment of ritual, creed, priesthood, and formal church-organization; and equality in religion of men and women.

During the fifties and sixties of the century the Friends' missionaries came to America, men and women lusting for martyrdom. The Bay went mad with the persecuting spirit; John Wilson cried in the pulpit, "I will carry fire in one hand and faggots in the other, to burn all the Quakers in the world." But there were two places where the Friends were welcome—Rhode Island and Westchester, CONN where Anne Hutchinson had founded virtual Quaker communities. Her sister Katherine Scott made of her home in Providence, as one of the missionaries said, "the habitation of the hunted-Christ, where we ever found a place of rest when weary we have been." And Mary Dyer carried Anne Hutchinson's teachings through her spectacular career as a Friends' preacher, carried them up to a scaffold in Boston. As her limp body swung from the gallows, a Bostoner pointed at it in derision, and said, "She hangs there like a flag."

Mary Dyer hung there like a banner of victory. By the new century there were sixty thousand Friends in America, and William Penn's Holy Experiment in government had been established two decades. The "suffering seed" had triumphed, and with it triumphed Anne Hutchinson's suffering, and her faith. 1700

Boston has finally made up its quarrel with the woman it cast out as "unsavoury salt." Her monument stands before the Massachusetts State House, with a fervent inscription to this "Courageous Exponent of Civil Liberty and Religious Toleration." There she stands, with a Bible in her hand, and a child snuggled against her, New England's heroine. For civil liberty and religious toleration, the principles for which she suffered exile and death, are written into the Constitution of the United States.

Three centuries ago the beloved voice said to Anne Hutchinson, "I will not make a full end of thee." History drives hard bargains; the strange promise has been fulfilled, but not as she dreamed it would be fulfilled.

Bibliography

History has grudged us many details of Anne Hutchinson's life; her distant figure is in places shadowy. Where the records are abundant they have been closely followed; where they are lacking I have been guided by her own story as she told it in her speech to the General Court. The following books and documents have been used in preparing this biography:

Adams, Brooks	*The Emancipation of Massachusetts.* Boston, 1887.
Adams, C. F.	*Three Episodes of Massachusetts History.* Boston, 1892.
"	*Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.* Boston, 1894.
Adams, James T.	*The Founding of New England.* Boston, 1921.
"	*New England in the Republic.* Boston, 1926.

Baillie, Robert	*Dissuasive from the Errors of the Times.* London, 1645.
Beard, Charles & Mary	*The Rise of American Civilization.* New York, 1927.
Bell, Charles H.	*John Wheelwright.* Boston, 1876.
Bishop, George	*New-England Judged.* London, 1668.
Bolton, C. K.	*The Founders.* Boston, 1919.
Bolton, R. A.	*A History of Westchester County.* New York, 1848.
Bradford, William	*History of Plymouth Plantation.* New York, 1923.
Champlin, J. D.	*The Hutchinson and Marbury Families.* (*N. Y. Gen. & Biog. Record,* Vol. 45).
Chapin, H. M.	*Documentary History of Rhode Island.* Providence, 1916.
Chapman, H. L.	*Mrs. Anne Hutchinson.* (*N. E. Historic Gen. Soc.* Feb. 1901).
Chester, Col. J. L.	*Notes upon the Ancestry of William Hutchinson and Anne Marbury.* Boston, 1866.
Clarke, Dr. John	*Ill-Newes from New-England.* London, 1652.
Coddington, William	*A Demonstration of True Love.* London, 1674.
Cotton, John	*An Abstract of the Lawes of New-England.* London, 1641.
“	*The Bloudy Tenent Washed.* London, 1647.
“	*The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared.* London, 1648.
Dexter, H. M.	*As to Roger Williams.* Boston, 1876.
Doyle, J. A.	*The English in America.* London, 1882.
Drake, S. G.	*The History and Antiquities of Boston.* Boston, 1856.
Dudding, R. C.	*History of the Manor and Parish of Saleby.* London, 1922.
Dudley, Thomas	*Letter to the Countess of Lincoln. March 12, 1631.*

	(*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.* Series I, Vol. 8).
Earle, Mrs. Alice	*The Sabbath in Puritan New England.* New York, 1893.
"	*Margaret Winthrop.* New York, 1895.
Ellis, George E.	*Anne Hutchinson.* (*Library of Amer. Biog.,* Second Series, Vol. 6).
"	*The Puritan Age.* Boston, 1888.
Fiske, John	*The Beginnings of New England.* Boston, 1899.
"	*Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America.* Cambridge, 1903.
Fox, George	1. *New-England Firebrand Quenched.* London, no date.
"	2 *Journal.* London, 1694.
Goodell, A. C.	*Antinomians.* (*Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Proceedings,* Vol. 1).
Gorton, Thomas	*Simplicitie's Defence.* London, 1646.
Groom, Samuel	*A Glass for the People of New England.* London, 1676.

Higginson, Francis	*New-England's Plantation.* London, 1629.
Holden, Randall	*Letter to Governor Winthrop, Sept. 15, 1643.* (Printed in Appendix to Thomas Hutchinson's *History.* q. v.).
Hosmer, J. K.	*The Life of Young Sir Henry Vane.* New York, 1888.
"	*Winthrop's Journal.* New York, 1908.
Hubbard, William	*A General History of New England.* Cambridge, 1815.
"	*The History of the Indian Wars.* Roxbury, 1865.
Hutchinson, Thomas	*The History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.* Boston, 1760.
"	*Hutchinson Papers.* Boston, 1769.
Jameson, J. F.	*Narratives of New Netherland.* New York, 1909.
Johnson, Edward	*Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Saviour.* London, 1654.
Jones, Rufus M.	*The Faith and Practice of the Quakers.* London, no date.

Jones, Rufus M.	*The Quakers in the American Colonies.* London, 1911.
Josselyn, John	*An Account of Two Voyages to New England.* London, 1675.
Lechford, Thomas	*Plain Dealing.* London, 1642.
MacDonald, William	*Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States.* New York, 1898.
"	*Documentary Source Book of American History 1606–1898.* New York, 1908.
Mason, John	*A Brief History of the Pequot War.* London, no date.
Massachusetts Colony	*Records of the Company of Massachusetts Bay, 1628–1641.*
Massachusetts Historical Society	*Collections*, Series I-V.
Mather, Cotton	*Magnalia Christi Americana.* London, 1702.
Morton, Thomas	*New English Canaan.* London, 1632.
Niles, Samuel	*History of the French and Indian Wars.* (*Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.* Third Series, Vol. 6).
Norton, John	*Abel being Dead yet Speaketh.* London, 1658.
"	*Memoir of John Cotton.* Boston, 1834.
Palfrey, J. G.	*History of New England.* Boston, 1865.
Plymouth Colony	*Records.*
Richman, I. B.	*Rhode Island: Its Making and its Meaning.* New York, 1902.
Savage, James	*Winthrop's History of New England.* Boston, 1825–6.
"	*A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England.* Boston, 1860.
Underhill, John	*Newes from New-England.* London, 1638.
Vane, Sir Henry	*A Briefe Answer.* (printed in *Hutchinson Papers*, q.v.).
Walker, Williston	*Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism.* New York, 1893.
"	*A History of the Congrega-*

	tional Churches in the United States. New York, 1894.
Walker, Williston	*Ten New England Leaders.* New York, 1901.
Ward, Nathaniel	*Simple Cobbler of Agawam in America.* London, 1647.
Welde, Thomas	Preface to *Short Story*, etc. London, 1644.
Wheelwright, John	*Mercurius Americanus.* London, 1645.
Williams, Roger	*Letters, 1632–1682.* (*Narragansett Club Publications*, Vol. 6).
"	*The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution.* London, 1644.
Winsor, Justin	*Narrative and Critical History of America.* Boston, 1884.
"	*Memorial History of Boston.* Boston, 1880.
Winthrop, John	*A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians*, etc. London, 1644.
"	*Defense of the Order of the Court.* (Reprinted in the *Hutchinson Papers*, q. v.).
Wood, William	*New Englands Prospect.* London, 1634.
Young, Alexander	*Chronicles of the First Planters.* Boston, 1846.

b. 1591 - bp Jl 20.

Anne Hutchinson - by Helen Augur XIII - XV
(Ch. 13 15 Aquidneck dev. a theocracy too [photocopied]
Handwritten Notes CH I-XII

CH I. [In Eng] CH. II [In Eng. CH III - [In Eng
1615 - heard Jno Cotton pr in Boston Ch, Lincolnshire, at St. Botolph's. w/husband Wm Hutchinson. He (J.C.) was vicar w Puritan ideas; of Cambridge (Pur. movement) & lecturer & dean of (very Pur.) Emmanuel Coll - also students there - Thos Hooker, Wm Brewster, Jn. Wheelwright & Oliver Cromwell: A. admired him
Rebellion in her blood F. Rev Francis Marbury in prison for
1578 defiance; pr Alford 25 mi from Boston ↓ for accusing bishops of ord unfit clergy. When Anne was 14, he was rector in London - of St Margarets, et al He d. 1611
1612 A. mar Wm H. of Alford. Into herbal medicine tansy, sage; gifted in heal, mystic - the Holy Spirit lives within man
1623 heard Jn Wheelwright pr; he m. Wm Hutch sis Mary; A Admired him
1633 JnCot fled Eng in disguise ahead of arrest on Griffin; along was A. son Edward age 20 to prepare way
1634 A., Wm & 10 child Sept boarded Griffin, to follow JCot 3000 mi
CH. 4. In Amer. Boston - huts for 1000, cabins, swine in st. Believe more in Christ, than in church as clergy did = not saved by join ch but by uniting w/ Christ. [but repeating evil of Est Ch they cast off] Boston (mean) Ch - caulked w mud & grass thatched. Seating the meeting snobbish. Wilson preacher, JCot teacher.
CH. 5. Unanimous decision needed for ch membership - 1 dissenting vote could keep her out. Examined in Rev Wilson's parlor. Wm passed quickly - her "heresies" took longer but JCot highly recomm her.
Nov 1634 A wk later than Wm, was adm & her sons Rich. & Francis a wk later
Mar 1635 Wm & sons made freemen of Mass Bay. Res. across street from [Gov] Winthrop. W midwife Jane Hawkins aided all
Ch dictated appearance - plain, shaved heads men; f - kerchiefs & hoods, no lace, no tobacco in public
6. Mary Dyer births ~~monster~~ - Anne in attendance, also Jane Hawkins refused adm to ch. People sought Anne's counsel - includ

Am Jezebel - Anne Hutchinson

Wm Coddington, J. Cot persecutes Roger Williams
[to Cambridge, arr in Ms. 1631]. She thought RW was
kind, & agreed w belief Ind owned land & freedom of
conscience - he preached spirit, not law as other clergy:
Covenant of Grace vs. Covenant of Works Mosaic Law - via Cath, Ang &
Lur creeds who wanted authority, not freedom. 70-80 ~~Men~~ Women
met at AH parlor to discuss Sun & Thur. sermons
& curious husbands ~~went~~ came to listen. & discuss. Henry Young Vane
attracted (arr 1635), & Mary (milliner) of Wm Dyer,
Wm Codd. All swayed by AH - talked of Christ, Holy Spirit
not on Mosaic law; man innately good. Law of Christ
written not on stone but on heart.

Ch. 7. AH Cove of indwelling Christ Grace focus of Boston's emotional life. & reached
May out to Dorchester, Roxbury, & Newtown: A magnet to
16 freedom lovers, & saw pol hope in Vane age 24 who won as Gov
Roger Williams now in Prov R.I. Winthrop ire against AH
Dorchester full of errors & refused permission to org church

A.H. "errors" - Winthrop wrote were
1. That the person of the Holy Spirit dwells in a justified person
2. " no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification.
Hence, spiritual anarchy - weakens authority: possessing
the people.

1636 Winthrop & Rev Wilson examined J Cot & Wheelwright re indwelling
of Holy Spirit as taught by A.H. - & direct communication w/ God.
If " " lived in believer, then the individual was paramount;

CH 8. Col ÷. AH challenge Ch & St. People listened critically to sermons,
& questioned. Her disciples quietly left ch during sermon, esp
women. Clergy counter-attack against AH. She believed
those who read Bible literally found only Cove of Works, but
Cove of Grace was spirit of Scriptures. They said she attacked
Decalogue; she preached too easy way to salvation,
encouraged sloth, undermined authority & supremacy
of Ch. Said she was Antinomian - against (

Am Jezebel. Anne Hutchinson

law - against O.T. legalism. And Familist - Family of Love f. 100 yr earlier in Amsterdam - began as insistence of divine love the essence of rel but it had reputation of being free-love cult. Clergy warned of disaster to col. unless false
AH prophetess silenced & to undermine Vane's influence, &
1637 told freeman how to vote. Vane ~~resigned~~ lost & Winthrop got
h. 9 back into power. Election in Newtown, not Boston.
Bay's rel demanded regimentation of thought; AH's freedom for ind. conscience which was anathema to clergy - not in favor of toleration. Pequot War in Ct.

CH 10 1637 - Vane returned to Eng. Winthrop did not bid him farewell - he sulked. as Vane & Lord Ley [nobleman dined w S. Maverick on Noddle's] his guest did not go to Winthrops ~~fa dinner~~ party in honor of Ley. He planned to crush AH & her party before Eng knew it. Pequots wiped out - women & ch to Boston & branded as slaves.

CH 11. 1637 - Nov. AH trial in Newtown. Clergy to testify
age 41 against her inclu. Wilson, Boston; Welde of Roxbury, & John Eliot; Richard Mather, Dorchester. - in skullcaps
She was the most brilliant logician in the col. - prodigious memory. - wit. In theory, Bay recognized freedom of conscience but keep thoughts to self. She favored toleration - only as Hall did; she claimed right to criticize clergy & their doctrines. If her conscience told her to preach, she must obey. She broke 5th Comm - Honor father & mother - includes Fathers of Commonwealth, charged Winthrop. AH - I am to obey you only in the Lord. Chg - you hold private meetings. By what authority. AH - By Titus 2, where elder women to teach younger. Chg - women not to teach. AH - Priscilla did. Winthrop forced to abandon Bible - invoked civil authority. Winthrop banished her as "being a woman not fit for our society" ~ ~

DPL
B
H971au

Augur, Helen. An Am Jezebel: Life of Anne Hutchinson. 1930.

Ch. 12. To be ban in Mar but put ~~in jail~~ 4 mos in J. Weldes hs in Roxbury, as pg. Codd not off ban but he sympathized w/ her. Her bro Wheelwright ban at once in deep Nov snow to N.H. Even Winthrop adm she was kind & skilled in nursing but that she was haughty, of nimble wit & more bold than a man — of fierce carriage — an "American Jezebel" — "impudent boldness of this proud dame" — "an instrument of Satan so fitted & trained to his service for poisoning the Churches" —

Jno Eliot visited her. So did John Cotton — he could not dissuade her. they gathered 29 errors against her.

1638 (For good of the Boston Ch she must be excommunicated. Church trial 15 Mar. She came down from Roxbury.

1. Souls are not immortal 2. No bodily resurrection

Scripture proofs quoted by both sides. By show of hands congreg. voted her a heretic. Anne seeking more light, virtually abandoned these 2 errors & reconsidered her opinions. Church held it against her that she had once believed errors.

John Cotton, teacher, vented venom in censuring her — (he betrayed their earlier closeness in similar beliefs) ~~the~~ her great dishonor to Jesus Christ, & evil done to many a poor soul. Too ill to return to Roxbury, she was a guest at ~~John~~ former friend John Cotton's house as was John Davenport soon to found New Haven colony & both tried to get her to renounce her errors.

In excomm. was delivered up to Satan as a Heathen & a Publican & a Leper. Mary Dyer comforted her.

W/4 yr old Susanna walked snowy Indian paths 5 days to Providence to join her husband & sons who had scouted out the place — Aquidneck island in Narragansett Bay R.I. a purchase R Wms made from Narrag sachems

r24 1638 for 40 fathoms of white wampum, 20 hoes & 10 Eng coats. Thus 19 Eng became proprietors of Aquidneck includ Coddington.

+ [illegible]

Am Jezebel
Anne Hutchinson, by Helen Augur
T.C. in 164

& Dr John Clarke
ch.12 Exiles flocked in to join them. Wm Coddington elected Gov.
date Gave birth to monster - abnormal uterine growth which Jno Cotton told Boston congreg. was of 7 several lumps, of man's seed without any alteration, or mixture of anything from the woman". Winthrop sent for attending dr, & - Clarke reported 26 - 27 distinct lumps, not joined together - w/o form. Deformed Monsters.
monster Bay clergy interpreted these as approx the errors she had foisted on Boston - thought she had consorted w/ the Devil, the Devil's concubine. Everyone in Eng & New Eng heard of this childbed.

And as for her friend Mary Dyer a month earlier (attended by Anne) also gave birth to a premature monstrosity. She got John Cotton to conspire
dr to keep it secret - register it as stillborn female child, but a neighbor glimpsing it gossiped - ~~about~~ & Winthrop's journal described it - face but no head, ape's ears on shoulders, & 4 horns over eyes & on each foot 3 claws but no toes. Jno Cotton made public apology for secrecy & it was well received.

Ergo - rel. errors & monsters were indeed connected. Dyers went to Aquidneck too; as did Jane Hawkins who also attended Mary Dyer in childbirth - All witches. Winthrop's banishing them saved Boston from God's wrath.

That same yr in June Boston rocked by a 4 min earthquake & Boston suffered more than Aquidneck. Epidemics of smallpox. Fall - severe storms, hurricanes & shipwrecks. Two Boston ships were wrecked on Aquidneck & the Bay bitterly noted exiles there rescued the Bostonians, returning good for evil.

Anne recovered, but did not teach or preach at Aquid. People were to seek the truth for themselves - to sit quietly waiting
what? for inner promptings, & anyone moved to do so could speak - this she believed - only 6 years before Soc of Friends was founded

HISTORIAN JOURNEYED
TOWARD THE SOUTH

RHODE ISLAND

LONG ISLAND

425 KEY 1
Kmart
$1.37

norcom®

I CORNELL I

ANNE HUTCHINSON

ROGER WILLIAMS

[MARY DYER – by Ruth T. Plimpton. 13 pgs.

– "Quaker" –

3 SUBJECT NOTEBOOK
120 SHEETS 11 in. x 8½ in.
COLLEGE RULED

0 26229 77424 9

NORCOM INC., ATLANTA, GA. 30366 77-424

CONTENTS BIBLIO

A Quakerism
B Mothers of Feminism – M. Bacon
C. Quakers in Puritan Eng – H. Barbour

WOMEN

1. Divine Rebel: Life of Anne Marbury Hutchinson by Selma R. Williams 1981

2. Unafraid: A Life of Anne Hutchinson by Winnifred King Rugg – B H971 Ru

4. Miller, John C. The First Frontier: Life in Colonial America. [HISTORY] 1966

3. Mary Dyer, Biog. of a Rebel Quaker, by Ruth Plimpton, Radcliffe grad. 1994

ROGER WILLIAMS

1. KNOWLES, JAS D. MEMOIR OF ROGER WILLIAMS, founder of the St. of R.I. (Prof. of Newton Theo. Instit). 1834

2. Gaustad, E.S. Liberty of Conscience: Roger Williams in America Eerdmans, Gr Rapids 1991
[I OWN COPY OF THIS BOOK.]

Quakers

17th c 1600's

Q. emp. on simplicity - gave up jobs involving luxuries. i.e. gold-smith, toymaker, court tailor. Puritan austerity in dress, theather, liquor (drank beer); avoided names of months & weekdays named for pagan gods (i.e. Janus, Thor) as did puritans; also Michaelmas, Christmas, Saint). Against crushing the poor, against waste, fairs

Like Puritans

Saw daily work as a calling from God. Strong resistance as part of their spiritual warfare.

CH. 9. Changes - after 1662

Questioning the nature of leading, via visions & premonitions
" foolish attacks on outside world

Am col. presented situations which made for change - the wilderness an enemy - no "proud" here. Breach made between conscience, & infallible Spirit. Dress (orig. workers' appeal against proud dress) become gray/black uniform of unique cut & quite expensive ÷ between plain Friends & gay Quakers.

Jno Brown Jr

Q. Still pioneered ed, war, slavery, prison & business reform; poor
1827-28. Am Q. ÷ orthodox (evangelical), & Hicksites (stressed the quietness of waiting upon the Spirit).

BACON, Margaret H. Mothers of Feminism
Ch11 Ministry, 19th c. Comb. travel min w/ reforms, or quietism i.e. rel. renewal, or missions as evangel. took hold. wrote journals. Visit strangers, or speak to travelers on the road. Visit royalty

Reason

"Led" to speak. Obedience to divine leading. Courage to travel. Went even if pg or had children. "a concern to travel to ... Canada" etc. Active in temperance meetings & suffrage. Mingle w/ all classes. Some well-educ & gifted; Mission school. She was a "recorded minister" - Hicksites from 1840 put men & women on equal basis. Q. women include, - Grimké sisters, Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, Jane Addams, Helen Hunt Jackson, Lydia Pinkham, Hannah Whitall Smith

Quaker:

Barbour, Hugh. The Quakers in ~~New~~ Puritan Eng. (came from doctoral dissertation at Yale under guidance of Roland H. Bainton).

Ea. must confront God for himself. (Early Q. 1st Q rel exp. more like J. Edwards or today's pentecostals; hope to transform world by bitter struggle against self-will/pride

I. Puritan Setting. V Wor — "The Lamb's War" - struggle to conquer "Old Adam" evil within + without - early Q. Good actions daily - not to earn salv.

1650's — but as response to God's mercy. Similarity of early Q. in North Eng. to Jno Wesley's mission to factory workers + miners noted. Service called "Meeting", + "Monthly Meeting". Porridge. "Hodden gray" of Cumberland yeoman. Bitter against ministers + steeple houses, sermons + sacraments. Fox - a cobbler. Later Q weavers, tailors, cloth merchants. ca 1700 - Q. female preachers - many had been domestic servants - indiff. to soc. status + convention. After rel exp - call "Children of the Light". Sober childhood - righteous parents. Inward exp. resulted in "quaking [hence name] + trembling; assoc w/ power of God. Death of the "old man", the carnal will. Q. never willing to use Bible directly as a

Note → guidebook or rule book lest it substitute for ea. person's own direct exp. of the Light [Spirit] = Use Bible for comparison. They were steeped in the Bible. All men by nature evil + hope

Light [of Christ] — only in the Light. God alone can lead worship. Fem. preachers due primacy of Spirit, not fem. equality. Q. were preachers not pastors (as were the Puritans). Q. debated, not warred. Pur. felt Q. led by Devil. Clash between authority of Bible (Pur) & of the Light (Q). Q. accept Bible's inspiration, but rejected predestination, believing

Essence of sin is self-will. — all men could repent. Believed that power of God displaced human will + personality permanently, so that Q. saw himself possessed by Spirit of God, almost as a demoniac is possessed by an evil spirit; ea. to find God's power for himself, solely from within [not in

Q. emp. Baptism of fire + Eating + Drinking of flesh + blood of Christ spiritually — baptism + communion or sacraments, absolution, etc], hence, silent worship. Condemned minister who took tithes, or accept appt to parish (resented Cath. bkgd. of tithes); suspected hymns, liturgy, Bible (Q. placed it in 2ndary role).

CH. VI - Customs. Hat honor removal; oaths; against tithes + wars; evidence of soc. inequality, as thee/thou, dress, furnishings. Refused to use courteous

date — greetings, i.e. Good night, Godspeed

← (over - turn pg. back)

Kit's surrogate family 1850-53.
" " " via 61
correspondence 1854-65.

Dr ~~Hosea~~ Jesse Grey
Staunch Quaker, in ref to pacifism
More liberal in "thee & thou" usage
Quaker doctor
Undergd RR -

His child by 1st wife: ~~[illegible]~~ BETHANY:

His 2nd wife: ~~Miriam~~ RHODA ______ Grey
Born in Eng - of Quaker parents; birthright Q.
Observes afternoon tea
A traveling preacher - in Eng & in Ia. - prisons,

Their child: ~~Libby~~ Phebe, b. 1850, while Kit in residence
Other children b. 1854 - Justus
b. 1858 - Cornelius
b. 1860 - twins: Oliver & Olive

Their boarder: George ___. (named for Geo Fox).
Teaches at the academy.
Is Kit's first love, via correspondence
Joins Ia's 17th (same as Jno Mann) - an officer. Taken P.O.W. at Tilton, Ga. Andersonville - Dies there.

Quakerism: The Quiet Rebels, M. Bacon.

QK

Mott, Lucretia - Q. abol. & preacher to Q. & Unitarians; a Hicksite - soc ref. Large # child! w/ Eliz. Stanton orig Women's Rights Convent Seneca Falls - 1848. Friend of RW Emerson. Used no sugar.
Whittier, Jno Greenleaf - Q. poet, abol; not in favor of mix ~~female~~ rights & abol. Phila ed of Pa Freeman. Aided Undergrd RR
Civil War - Q. male nurses, & f. Q merchants urged not to support war. Truthful but used lip coverup to protect runaway slaves.
Consc. Obj. to war - A. Lincoln (claimed Q ancestry) & Sec of War E. Stanton son of Q. (as was Adams W Whitman) easy on. Some Q. did go to war. Some did not pay war taxes but raised $ to aid freed-men, or sewed for them. By war's end, some Q. imprisoned for refusal to be drafted, or carry guns. Refused to use slave-produced products i.e. cotton, sugar. Later, Cong exempt C.O. if served med, or pay $300 to fund to aid freedmen (some refused this, too). A few became bushwhackers living in the woods to escape conscription in the South; tortured by "bucking down" i.e. tied head to heels - & left to die. At war's end, Q. packed barrels of clothes & tools & $ to help ex-slaves, & taught schools for them.

War

How about HEMP?

Rev. War - much Q. persecution for trying to remain neutral, by both Tories & Am. "Birthright Q."
[slavery, mentally ill, war victims
"To have a concern" - meant soc action to aid sufferer in prison,
Q. authors (1. Janet Whitney (2 Jessamyn West - "The Friendly Persuasion" Civil War
Emphasis on SCIENCE, MATH, & NATURE. prohibition against MUSIC & ART (esp fiddle & dancing) before 1880; also drama as "airy notions"
DO NOT VOTE. Great belief in nonviolence, civil liberties, freedom of conscience. Silence in meeting prob. significant in identifying with suffering [as not drowning out feeling with noise & action], & early Q. suffering, but avoid politics. Do believe in nonviolent resistance (a la Thoreau, Tolstoy): Lobbied for fair treatment of Indian.
Q gray - broadbrimmed hat, bonnet. Live simply.
No fixed set of theo. beliefs but rooted in Xty. Direct exp. w/ God. Practical democracy
Conduct Their own weddings. Refuse to take oaths, or remove hats to those in authority "hat honor"
Thee & thou use - "you" for upper class.

DIVINE REBEL

AH

Selma R. Williams: Divine Rebel: Life of Anne Marbury Hutchinson 1981.

INTROD. challenged male authoritarianism, literal reading interp of Bible, Eve-inflicted Original Sin. ~~Charged~~ Accused her ~~w/ being~~ of having "rather been a husband than a wife, a preacher than a hearer, & a magistrate than a subject" — had a larger following than did Gov Winthrop. Her first biog was Dr Geo Ellis, 1847; wrote as foe to Puritans, not friend to Anne. Only 6 formal biog of AH. ~~[illegible]~~ 1930 Augur's Am Jezebel which is fictionalized; Bolton's & Curtis' of '31 & '30 superficial & inaccurate. Questions ????

1. Her followers known as Hutchinsonians.
2. Connection between midwifery & female bondedness.
3. Exhorted no support for the Pequot War
4. Did she advocate anarchy?
5. Why label Antinomian (Luth. pejorative meaning defiance of society's laws. & Familism = libertinism & free love.
6. Meaning of her "revelations & prophesying" (men did, too).

CH. 1.-2.

Jl.20 1591 14 1605

b. during reign of good Queen Bess Eliz who declared that she herself had the "heart & stomach of a king" — to a clerical father who'd been in prison 3X sacked for insubordination eccles. rebellion & his right to speak out — but finally regained lic to preach when AH was 3; no sons yet. Tutored by father — female literacy high dur Eliz. reign. In London age 14 learned re Familism w/ taught direct comm w/ God, free will, rejected predestination & orig. Sin. AH attracted to non-conformists — Familism, Puritanism & Separatism. In 1560s ~~femal~~ strongly drawn to Fam. King Jas I & his bishops all w strong ~~[illegible]~~ did not allow midwives to b. newborns about to die, even when no priest available; this Crown trampled women. (AH 3 bros got Oxford degrees) & strengthened witchcraft laws — 1604 punishable by hanging; & witches were almost always f. Of well to do family w coat of arms. — landed gentry.

for independence

Rev. Wm — [illegible] manuscript for typing to Ransom [illegible]

[illegible] "Brittingham" [illegible] mention [illegible]

had 15 children in 22 yrs 43 or 47
21
22

Divine Rebel

A.H.

Ch. 3. Age 21, AH m. wealthy farmer/merchant; to Alford.
15 children – childbed made rel attractive as 20% d. w/pg related
causes. F. preaching orig in Holl. & spread all over Eng [incl
Somerset] – called themselves prophets as they heard a Voice
from Heaven; sects – not Anglic Ch – most receptive.
sounds sim. to 20 Familists pr. spirit over Bible, election of pr. by congreg, acad educ
not necessary to understand Bible, & advoc free love by making
marriage & divorce a simple declaration before Ch congreg, & denial
of soul immortality & existence of Heaven / Hell.
1612 Came to idolize Vicar J. Cotton of St. Botolph's of Pur leaning of Cambridge
& dean at Emmanuel.
Ch. 4-5 1 g. every 15 – 23 mos. AH rejected Ch dogma that f., by giving birth
added to sin quotient of the world. Became nurse/midwife/
1630 preacher in her own living room.
Apr 8 – parishioner Wm Coddington invited
J Cot to del. farewell sermon to Winthrop co of 5 ships of Pur.
1633 J Cot – 1 Pur silenced by Bishop Laud about to be made Archbishop of Canterbury in disguise sailed on
Griffin, fled to New Eng for safety w 2 Edw. Hutch aboard.
1634 Jl On same Griffin Hutch family to New Eng; Richard
Mather aboard – to be set on pulpit of Dorchester.
Ch. 6 Husband Wm became "Visible Saint" (Pur lang) 1 week before
Sept 1834 Anne in 100 mem Boston Ch as she flunked 1st exam
Oct 1634 re Wm. in trouble in Salem. [Griffin bring AH to Boston
brought royal demand for return of Ms. precious
charter of independence]. Exam by teacher Jn Cot & Jn
Wilson Boston's pastor. AH now had given birth to
11 living Susanna, her 14th, & they had much money in gold.
She Mrs. & Wm called Mr., not Goodman. Neighbors were
Jn Cot, Jn Winthrop, Wm & Mary Codd – wealthy
not Goody merchant in only brick house in town. – all others
wood w/mud chim & thatched roof. [AH house had glass
windows & 2 chairs. Food – herring, oysters, clams –
not over fond of lobsters tho plentiful maize & beans – both dried
squash & pumpkin soup, game. Plain church –

Divine Rebel

A.H

F non-persons except for Queen Eliz
Fun called Sabbath; Sexes sep. in seating; by soc rank.
Jn Cot - coined term Congregationalism; Forbidden —
1633 wearing of silver, gold, lace, embroidered caps, &
beaver hats, male long hair, wife beating (only 2 f to 3 m)
Jn Endecott of Salem ruled down on wanting to control
veils so f. beauty could not be flaunted.
Ch 7. Began women's meetings 1X wk in her home - to discuss
Jn Cot sermons [who studied for them 12 hrs. daily.]
Group grew from 6 to 60 - sorely needed comfort
in childbirth, foreign land & they idolized her while
husbands suspected her as Devil's agent: Jn Cot considered
sending spies. Herbs for labor, start milk flowing &
afterbirth expulsion. Midwifery controlled by m. —
Orig in Europe none could allow mother to name wrong father ~~of~~ her
child, or use herbs to cause abortions, or deliver in
secret, or bp. sickly fragile infant. People from beyond
Boston came to AH house; Doct of Orig Sin used
to keep M subj. to authority, & F subordinate to M.
Belief outer piety visible sign of salv: as Sab. observance.
AH rejected idea — birth labor nor family emergencies respected
[alex I Cornell] Sab! Businessmen grav. to AH. for they too rebelled
& tavern against authority, here & in Eng - set wage/price
1635 control, as Wm Hatch. textile merchant!

CH. 8 Parson Wilson made 2 trips back to Eng before he could get his
arr. 7.5 stubborn wife to join him in Boston. 22 yr old H.
9 Oct, 1636. Vane, aristocrat in long curls & elegant clothes came, —
3 da later ordered to come as rebel by King; R. Wm - 32 yr old bril-
RWm banished liant hothead of Cambridge - believed land belonged to Ind, &
from Salem that F should wear veils; he refused to say grace at meals if
RWm wife present. AH had 15th ch 13 Mar 1636. - she led Female
followers en masse out of meeting hs as Wilson preached, set
up rival Ch in her home, & Vane became her convert

[Was Cotn more non-conformist, than pro AH]

A-H

Divine Rebel

At age 23 he elected by freemen Gov - only 7 mos in Am. because of influ. Eng connections: AH drew F, businessmen, Gov Vane, milliner Dyer, Coddington, Wm Baulston innkeeper, plus some denied adm to church, bro-in-law

Rev ch 9. Wheelwright, a silenced by Laud preacher from Eng.

Ms. to be new Garden of Eden - never to let Eve lead man astray. Orig Sin (Cove of Works) vs Cove of Grace - free conscience, communicate directly w/ God, present life (not after life) stressed: thus society orderly, w F to help gov, & free enterprise for businessmen. AH had strongest constituency w Familism - no Orig Sin, reason, popular consent, w/ congreg to name parson. AH claimed only Jn Cot & Jn Wheelwright were able ministers (preaching Cove of Grace - [as she interpreted it]— the others Cove of Works.

p.128 1637 My - 31. AH & her followers refused to support Pequot war. Winthrop thought it was her taking revenge for the recent election (Winthrop won) or the alien exclusion act purposing to keep out dangerous persons to commonwealth

1637 Aug - Vane returned to Eng. Sept - synod found 82 opinions held by Anne & disciples to be erroneous or blasphemous.

Ch 10 Oct 1637 - Mary Dyer milliner's wife went into labor - breech birth - stillborn monstrosity. She asked Jn Cot advice - keep it secret. Jane Hawkins & AH buried it

Dyer Proclaimed disloyal by Winthrop - Rev Wheelwright, & Wm Baulston, innkeeper. Both £20 fine & disfranchised. & Wm Dyer. Winthrop labeled AH "the head of all this faction a woman who had been the breeder & nourisher of all these distempers". Alien exclusion law enacted to bar all immigrants suspected of sympathy w Anne" i.e. Familists

49 inquisitors - wealth, intelligence, includ 8 clergy. Public crowded in. Winthrop, gov, chief judge & prosecutor. Anne in

Divine Rebel

A H

bonnet, no lawyer; no jewelry or wedding ring; defiant
Anne Bradstreet, Am 1st poet, may have been influ by
AH — her husband was at trial [her father was Gov T. Dudley] a
judge at trial. Jn. Eliot of Roxbury congreg — serving Natick
Ind. Thos Weld pastor at Roxbury.

Ch 12 At trial Jn Cot asked her — should the court bring
Massacre her calamity — would she expect to be delivered by
a providence of God. AH said Yes [yet, Judk her]
She claimed receiving revelations .. Some thought her
Civil trial revelations were a "devilish delusion". Dep Gov Dudley
thought her deluded by the Devil; Wm Coddington:
She broke no law & ∴ deserves no censure, & he
demanded civil liberties in due process of law.
Winthrop — See the impudent boldness of a proud
dame. Compared her to the Anabaptist uprising 1534-36
in Munster [Ger], & felt justified in silencing
her & followers. Anabaptist beliefs (1. adult rebaptism
(2. infants w/o Orig Sin (3 sep. of Ch/St (4. refusal to
take up arms (5. Men & women equal. Popular stereo-
typed in wanting polygamy, easy divorce, & sex promiscuity.
By 1536 all Anabap. leaders martyred — majority were women.
Winthrop — Mrs H . . . unfit for our society . . banished
Wm Codd voted against banishment; Jn Cot voted to.
Capt Jn Underhill stripped of office & disfranchised hero of Pequot War.
fanning 58 Boston male followers ordered to surrender guns, pwd
rebellion & ammo, nor could they buy or borrow any weapons
the to replace them — guns, pistols, swords PLUS 17 from
infection other towns — Salem, Roxbury, etc. 30 of these 75
recanted at once & kept guns, but 40 surrendered theirs.
E Roxbury was a rugged 2 mi from Boston — she stayed
there till spr w Rev Weld's bro.

On day date of expulsion Gov learned that upon J Cot advice, Mary Dyer had had a Monster. He ordered dau. exhumed & examined. Face - no head, 4 horns, 2 mouths, no ~~a~~ toes but claws instead - he wrote description in journal.

Divine Rebel

AH

Ch 13. Jn Cot thot to leave, but not w AH. To lose Cot meant
trouble for Bay Col if word got back to Eng, for supporters
would think it a failure. AH under house arrest
in Roxbury saved clergy visits to change her mind,
except Jn Eliot, the Ind Apostle, & Rev. Weld. AH
now preg & Menopausal.

Mar. 1638 – excommunicated from Ch. on Thurs.
John Coggs + Baulston Wm H + 19 other disarmed & disenfranchised invited by RWm to
come to Aquidneck – bot land from Sachems Canonicus
& Miantonomo. Clergy now persecutors. Charged w/
subverted Ch/St 29 errors. – "a very dangerous woman to sow her corrupt
opinions to the infection of many." She denied holding
to Familist views [a decade later 1648, writers labeled
her – not "Familist" but Antinomian" i.e.
contemptuous of the law on which society depends.
She rejected resurrection, boasted of the guidance
of God's spirit, believed her revelations were as true as
the Scriptures. Even Jn Cot. felt "God hath directed
us to take" – action against her – Was this not a
revelation of a kind? Cot's accusation – "many unsound
& dangerous principles are held by her."..
age "Consider how many poor souls you have misled..."
47 Next session, AH agreed to read a recantation of her
3½ former views, then argued that man should be kept
yrs in in his own place & not in the room of God –
Bay She was denounced for not knowing her
Col. place as a woman. – cast out as a leper
Mary Dyer rose from her bench & accompanied
AH outside.

Ch. 14. AH took her children & went 65 mi. in 6 days to Aquid-
neck by foot & canoe, to hut Wm had b.

DIVINE REBEL

See Battis, Emery. Saints & Sectaries: AH & Antinomian Controversy in Mass Bay Col. 1962. Good study of business climate. AH

AH followers called "Hutchinsonians" in her day
not Antinomians

Winthrop badgered Mr Clarke (not Dr - no) for details of AH miscarriage - 27 lumps, not joined together. which came to be misconstrued by gossiping clergy as 30 monstrous births, some of human shape
Weld called Aq "The Island of Errors"
Several women Boston & Salem excommunicated - wives & servants.

Mar 1639. AH preached publicly in Aquid & advo-
(2.) cated anarchy. - M & F should be self-controlled.
RWm complained of assertive women [wives] in Providence: Govt reduced to minimum when Codd. voted out. More heresies; denied all magistracy
AH son Francis & son-in-law Collins thrown in jail Boston for heresy - refused to pay fines or recant - released w/o paying a penny & ordered out of Mass Bay

1642 Wm Hutchinson died. Soon after, AH took 6 children & several R.I. fam for Dutch (L. Is.) B. house on Anne's Hook in Pelham Bay. [Mainland]?

THOS CORNELL

1643 - She & fam (except for 10yr old Susanna) massacred by Indians

[Weld thought God made her an example]

AFTERMATH:

Inquisitors Weld & Hugh Peter? of Salem w/ Winthrop notes put popular tract

1644 upon AH murder - "A Short Story of the Rise Reign, & Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines That Infected the Churches of New Eng," - it arr in Europe just as Antinomianism raged thru Eng - promoting chaos & total disregard for fund. laws of soc. - Eng torn by civil war, Puritans

ote: already split into 2 - Cong vs Presby - to replace Anglicanism for Cot - chief Cong. Civil War ended 1660, & Restoration of Chas II who put to death Hugh Peter (above) + ex-gov Henry Vane - in Eng - both hanged for treason?. Several wrote ref on AH, includ Cot Math, using Winthrop quotes.

Divine Rebel

AH

1656

Many old Hutchinsonians became Quakers, includ
① Wm Coddington wealthy business man who went into exile
with AH (2. Nicholas Easton, tanner, Aquid, preached
direct communication w God (3. AH sister - Katherine
Marbury Scott - active proselytizing; whipped & imprisoned
frequently. Mary Dyer preached "inner light" -
contended M & F = in ch worship & org; hanged Boston
1 Je 1660.

5 child survived Anne, includ 10 yr old ① Susanna taken
captive - 1645 ransomed by New Eng friends ② Faith Savage in
Boston ③ Richard, Boston, ancestor of 19th c feminist - Abigail
Jemima Hutchinson who w her 3 bros toured old
PURSUE New Eng. as a singing quartet promoting antislavery,
T.C. lived adj. to Edw. peace, temperance & women's rights ④ Edward,
Boston, k. 1675 during King Philip's War on a peace mission
to Nipmuck Indians. ~~One of his desc. m. one of the Mather
desc. of Jn Cotton~~. A H & Jn. Cotton's shared descendants
a century later in the person of Hannah Mather
Fr18 Crocker, a feminist, who org F into study groups,
believed both sexes shared equally in divine grace,
& equally endowed with equal powers & faculties.

BIBLIO.

#

1. Winthrop, Jn. Hist of New Eng 1630-49 2 vol, ed. Jas.
Savage, 1825 preferred. Also avail 1959 ed. JK Hosmer
2. Bailyn, B. New Eng Merchants in 17th C. 1964
3. Battis, Emery. Saints & Sectaries: AH & Antinomian 1962
4. Bolton, R.P. A Woman Misunderstood: Anne, W/o Wm Hutch
5. Dow, Geo Every Day Life in Ms Bay Col. 1935
6. Pope, CH. Pioneers of Ms. 1620-50 1900
→ 7. Savage, Jas. Gen Dictionary of 1st Settlers of NE. showing
3 generations ... before 1692. 4 vol. 1860-62
8. Spirrel, Mk. Puritan Town of Boston. 1972
9. Winslow, Ola E. Master Roger Williams. 1957

#

[illegible]

[illegible] that [illegible]

[illegible] 1835 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1835 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1836 [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

What were they [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] they were [illegible] from the [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] presented them

[illegible] of all the sufferers [illegible] employed [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and travelling [illegible]

[illegible] Behind these [illegible]

[illegible]

Mormons

MORMONS

1832 J Smith rec rev. that New Jerusalem in Jackson Co Mo = Ind, but driven out Nov 1833. in a reign of terror – horsewhipped, sacked & cornfields & houses burned. Fled to Clay, Lafayette (Lex) & Van Buren co.
1836 Zion's Camp (Mil. Mormons) lost 14 to death sickness, or cholera epid. k. 7000 in St. Louis in 5 weeks = treated w whisky thickened w/ flour & heavy dousings of cold water. Back to Kirtland, Oh by July 1833. Mo a fiasco. Became anti-abolitionist in 1836 – as Ham cursed. Mo suspicions of pop & power of Morm in Clay Co. Doctrine of "spiritual wives"
1836 – Liberty Mo – Mo. said Morm diff rel, easterners, non-slave holders & opposed slavery, & liked Indians & destined to inherit Mo. with the Mormons. Move into Caldwell Co 1836, & Daviess & Carroll in N. Mo. Site of Garden of Eden Smith found hill where Adam offered up sacrifice to God.

Why were early Mormons persecuted? [Polyg. not announced until 1852]
1. Strange rel. of low bred people, branded as "dregs of society", w/ revelations, speaking in tongues. Revulsion of
Rumors raised spector of violence { 2. Mormon tampering (proselyting) Indians on Mo frontiers; accused of agitating them
3. In Mo, they were accused w/ tampering of slaves.
4. In Mo – they were different [i.e. from the east] habits customs dialects
Econ. threat 5. In Independence, they patronized the store of a member; hence, other merchants feared them as an econ. bloc.
6. Mormons (determined to locate the New Jerusalem in Jackson Co) bought choice land at elevated prices – influencing the land mkt much to disgust of competitors
Pol. threat 7. Perceived a pol. problem, because they voted as a bloc – hence Mormon control
Rel. threat 8. Oh, Miss, Ill had not yet firmly entrenched old line denominations = "stealing from the flock"
9. Rumors they were counterfeiting, stealing & killing; some did, too
10. Rapid growth of Mormon Masonry in Ill. Masonic ceremony used in Mor. temple ordinances

WHO persecuted them?
Mobs of idle ruffians (temp. unemployed between harvest & planting; No compulsory educ, prob adolescents in rebellion. Illiterate, hard-drinking, lawless, hardcases – f. in every community drunken brawls. Behind these often – prominent citizens & militias Inflammatory newspapers, sermons. Lack of remorse among persecutors

Saints

Morm. denounced as un-Am offscourings from Europe, dupes Negro & Ind lovers, trash & vermin. Morm was more than rel - also econ phil, goal of community bldg., eschatology. Solution - isolation in unwanted lands (did not work in Mo & Ill, but did in Utah) Trek began Feb 1846 stretched over several years. Feb 25, 1 co. set out in 10° weather for → the Des Moines River. Handcart trek came in 1855-6

Savagery of the Mo.

1838 - 1 Mormon k at polls in Gallatin, Daviess Co. Mo. 30 Morm carried oak clubs & voted, In Daviess & Carroll Co. Gentile merchants refused to sell to Mormons; Mo refused to mill their corn & grain; their barns houses & haystacks fired; livestock stolen - Caldwell Co. mostly Mormon & quieter. Militia & armed militant Mormons fought in Far West, Mo & Haun's Mill 17 k - 15 w. at latter = Oct 1838. Far West n. of Liberty, Mo - Women raped, homes ransacked. Girls tied to benches in the school house, ravished repeatedly. Livestock shot in target practice by militiamen. Saints had to live on parched corn.

Holy War in Mo; 1838: Expulsion

Mormon army destroyed, their wealth confiscated. J. Smith thrown in jail at Richmond; & at Liberty in Clay Co. Exodus out of Mo: - to Nauvoo, Ill. Polygamy secretly practiced from 1839; many public rumors plural wife - spiritual wife. Common knowledge that polygy. permeated Nauvoo - secret harems. J. Smith & bro killed at Carthage, Ill jail by militia

* Frequently

Quaker Names appearing in Marlboro Mon. Mtg, N.Y. by 1850

Female

Hannah
* Phebe
* Bethany
Anna
Elizabeth, Eliza
Dorcas.
Emeline
Mercy, Charity, Patience
Mahitable
Esther
Priscilla
Keziah
Lucy Ann
Mary
Deborah
Katherine, Katie
Adah
Rhode
Elenor
Cornelia
Olive Jane
Harriet
Charlotte
Prudence
Lydia

Male

Benj.
Reuben
John
Jacob
Robt.
Uriah
Wm.
Ebenezer
Justus
Daniel
Joseph, James
Joel
Nathaniel
Abraham
Benona
Zephaniah
Jesse
Thomas
Jonathan
Josiah
George
Elijah
Peter
Jasper
Oliver
David
Cornelius
Gideon

Quakers

No creeds – hence room for both evangel & liberal theology. Lived comfortably w ambiguity, – since emphasis on the Light. Hicks – rural quietist of N.Y. strong opponent of slavery & the new evangelicalism infl. by J. Wesley. He insisted on primacy of the Christ within the believer over the Christ of the Bible; & downplayed the importance of the crucifixion. Some urban Q of Phila & Am concerned that concept of inner Light in leading some Q. away from Bible & the atonement. Hicks in linen (not cotton) influenced Walt Whitman & Lucretia Mott. 1827 schism – urban Orthodox & (rural) Hicksite ÷ families, meetinghouses & schools (had many, as educ own children, like Amish). Reformers mostly Hicksites but Whitall Ortho & ev Q f in Midwest leaders in suffrage. More f. than m. in ministry (?) acc to Gurney. Q. f. held schools for poor & black children, boycott slave products. Motts – lifelong friend of Wm L Garrison. 2 Hick f. ran stores where only free produce was sold. John Greenleaf Whittier – an Ortho Q. Nonresistance. Q. f. taught to speak up. Civil War [moral issue over slavery] posed a dilemma for Q – advocating nonresistance; some pacifist, some believed in the bayonet. F. went to camps w/ food + rel. services, or as nurses to blacks, visit army hosp. "conduct a season of prayer." Wait for a leading. Fall 1867 Ks to vote on referendum on both black men's + women's suffrage; Eliz. Cady Stanton & Susan B. Anthony both came to Ks. to campaign for women. Some white m. wanted educ. white women to vote to counteract votes of uneduc. former slaves.

Traveling Q. preachers visited hosp, prisons, asylums
[Kit could describe herself as Q, but "never joined meeting"]

Note: Quakeresses who worked for woman suffrage

COPPOC 2 of Mary Coppoc Kalley of Iowa sons joined John Brown at Harpers Ferry — Edwin hanged, but Barclay escaped. 19th c Plain-colored dresses w/ white kerchief

19th c reforms "Moral reform" – euphemism for abol of prostitution; dress & food reform i.e. Graham. Int in phrenology skull bumps (imp. environ over heredity): F. pioneers 30% of in prison reform were Q. Thought environment could influ. dev. of character, hence curtains, flowers, etc.

_____________ a ~~civilized~~ Indian girl
from the ~~Mission~~.

KS. TERR.
1854-59

ANNE HUTCHINSON
MARY DYER

UNAFRAID: A Life of Anne Hutchinson
by Winnifred King Rugg. 1930 AH

AH

~~854~~

Her epithets — N.E. Jezebel, a notarious
Imposter, a dayngerous Instrument
of the Devell Raysed up by Sathan, a
Breeder of Heresies; her husband Wm.
called her a "dear saint and servant of God."
AH's ? pride of spirit ? Expelled from col; excomm from Ch.
Stands for principle of free speech
Freedom vs authority expressed her dissent
Egotistic, sharp wit & tongue. 1605-12 in London
1634-38 in Boston, followed whitehaired Jn Cot (ae 49).
b. Jl 17, 1591 to Rev Francis Marbury. Husband
engineered circumstances theory? Wm. H. a merchant, well-to-do
& had servants. Tendency to mysticism: God speaks directly to believers, & not by signs or portents. The Bible
her authority. Well-born lady; popular, esteemed; of gentle birth, haughty, carriage
1634 Left Eng age 43; Wm, 48. — child on Griffin
w 100 cattle Winthrop sent for. Claimed to have
revelations - nothing significant happened to her but
[ESP?] what it was revealed to her beforehand. - she told
passengers on Griffin. [Did Thos Hooker in Ct have
revelations, too? Check This:] Rev Symmes also aboard
recomm Boston ch. not to admit AH. Landed Sept 18, 1634.
pop — less than 1000, basically farming village. Wm Hutch
1636 2 grants of farm land 600 A; also a house & farm in
knew J. Gillet there? Dorchester. AH had ready tongue & wit, & bred.
Capt Jn Underhill of Boston ch - a Hutch man, unregenerate - Underhill
AH meet in her hs - met on Mon & Thurs - a rel (also soc) occasion
All women attended, their men came later; even Vane,
(Cot, Codd & Capt Underhill of low morals. Flocked to her for
counsel on matters of conscience. AH got to express her ind opinion
p 100 Ch. 9, Hs too small; overflow listened at windows.
Sanctification (the good life) no evidence of justification;
only God speaking to the heart was evidence: Justified, meant
Gods elect. Winthrop accused AH of 2 errors

UNAFRAID

Rev Zachariah Symmes (arr Griffin w/AH) of Charlestown

A.H

AH - Antinomian taught holiness a matter of the heart, not good works; some said believer could not sin: Salv. assured

AH indwelling of Holy Spirit

~~1854~~

(1. that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person (2. that no Sanctification [good life] can help to evidence to us our justification. Bro-in-law Jn Wheelwright, a silenced minister in Eng - agrees with her. AH taught rel of love vs law & judgement "If you have the Grace of God in your souls you cannot displease Him. Get your heart right, and you cannot sin."

!!

Welcome teaching. Town torn. Most on her side

p. 112 ch. 10-11. ANTINOMIANISM - bogie, like "Red" today - enemy of Ch & St. Meant reject literal Law of O.T. for spiritual Gospel of N.T., rep. by Anabp, Fam, Adamites, Libertines,
free love, nudists

all believed in Revelations - i.e. God speaks directly. One Pur writer describes Holl as a "mingle-mangle of religion, a cage of unclean birds..."

Discord Pur. fathers anxious for Col. of good repute - RW & AH an embarrassment to them when scandal got back to Eng. Clergy jealous & fearful of AH pop. & power - compared themselves w Jn Cot whom AH approved as for Grace as did Jn Wheelwright

Ch 12-13. when Boston was told to supply her quota for Pequot War not 1 ch. ~~members~~ Some responded - did not want to serve w/ chaplain Jn Wilson (their pastor) who preached Cov of ~~Grace~~ WORKS. Exclusion Act passed for immigrants to keep out dissidents, partic. AH kin & friends in Eng. then on way to Am; they had to set in NH - Exeter. Gov Winthrop hoped Hutch go to RW Prov.

Not true

?

Ch 14-15. Pur belief - God does not speak directly to humans, but only in trifling circumstances - providence - nature, weather, action of animals (which is superstition), all outward manifestations of God's will, as revelation was finished - no present-day miracles.

Rev RC

UNAFRAID

AH

~~[illegible]~~. Dpoc. ~~1843~~41

ch. 16-17-18 In Roxbury for winter [Didn't

1637 ~~Christmas in K.T.~~ [~~AUST~~INS OR ~~——~~

1638 live here then?]. Winthrop urged her expulsion because

direct of her claims of revelations. Supporters disarmed & dis-

inspira- enfranchised, includ Wm Baulston - ca 5 or 6 as 10 recanted.

tion. 58 Boston m. + 17 others from outlying villages disarmed to make Col. safe from "suddaine irruption".

In large measure a feministic movement. Cotton warned sisters (she had been mid-wife to many) & told them to "withhold all countenance & respect from her". Had to stay at Cot his during excomm trial - Cot & Davenport argued with her - she gave in, worn out - acknowledged wrong - prep papers of recantation Cot & Daven. helping. Cot could not prevent her exile (by Ct), but could avert her excomm from Ch - a severance w/instruments of God's grace & damnation. Read her recantation in low voice; audible only to those in front seats, so Cot read it again in loud voice; her confession that all she had done was done thru a pride of spirit. Assailed by clergy & MG, lost her temper & became stubborn. Hugh Peter said "I believe that she has vile thoughts of us, & thinks us to be nothing but a company of Jews" And cont "You have stept out of your place. You have rather been a husband than a wife; & a preacher than a hearer; & a magistrater than a subject".. Taunted

Hostility her w/overwhelming ambition. Could not forgive her pride & ambition. Wilson claimed - set yourself up to be extolled & admired & followed after, that you might be a great prophetess. Blamed more for lying, than heresy meaning deliberate fabrication w/intent to deceive. Rev Wilson excommunicated her "In the name of the Lord

UNAFRAID

AH / 1855

Lord Jesus Christ & in the name of the church ~~July~~

~~4th July celebration~~ I do cast you out; and in the name of Christ I do deliver you up to Satan, that you may learn no more to blaspheme, to seduce, & to lie .... to be a Heathen & a Publican... and as a leper to withdraw yourself out of the congregation"... Mary Dyer (hanged as Quaker on Boston Common) went w/her thru the door. at this time Mary's miscarriage of monster whispered.

217 Ch. 19. Refuge in R.I.

Thos Weld, Roxbury parson, called her "an instrument of Satan ... poisoning the church here planted, as no story records the like of a woman since that mentioned in the Revelation"! AH & her friends were banished. Capt Roger Clap [of Mary & John?] said, "the snare is broken & we and ours are delivered..."

Nathaniel Ward in his "Simple Cobbler of Agawam wrote "I will petition to be chosen the universal idiot of the world if all the wits under the heavens can lay their heads together & find an assertion worse than this — that men ought to have liberty of conscience, & that it is persecution to debar them of it."

So tranquility (or stagnation) prevailed in Ms from time of AH banishment until the Quaker troubles of the 1650's.

1638 AH given 1 mo to leave, packed & hired boat to take her to Wollaston farm; spr 1638 went 60 mi overland via (riv to Aquid ~6 day, w. 9 child, youngest 2 - via Ind. trails & canoe. 19 at Wm. Codd hs. 7 Mar 1638 signed agreement, incl. Codd, J Clarke, W. Hutch, W. Baulston, W. Dyer bot land of Miantonomio & Canonicus w/R. Wm help. Reenforced by several under Ms. ban, they est. Pocasset (Portsmouth). 1st lived in tents, huts AH "monstrous birth" Weld called it (gods anger w/ heretic)

Aquid called is of R.I.

Spiritually AH — not pol leader, W Codd — dominated both —

UNAFRAID

AH

Ch 20-21 1865

~~XXI~~ mouth, which first had free & simple gov't w/ free expression of rel. opinion - however, all must be Xtn [not so in Prov.] AH preached to friends, as did other women on Sabbath, during which earthquake shook & house rocked, literally. A saying - if too good for Ms go to Ct, if too bad to R.I., hence erratics on "The Isle of Errours". Yr 2, dissension; Codd set at Newport; W. Hutch. judge at Portsmouth ("wholly guided by his wife" wrote J. Winthrop). Next yr 2 settlements united under Codd as Gov, & WH as an ass't. Newport became more uppity, but Portsmouth the more democratic. After 1 yr AH got WH to resign, as she now believed magistry illegal - favored anarchy - i.e. no need of gov't if Spirit dwelt within. She would not let weak WH run again - Ports & New both believed in Ms.

1638 Dec., 8 mo after AH exile, Boston formiess - feuds. J Cot pr. - best to
Did this put heretics in prison & not exile, & H. exile too attractive to certain
inc. Thos. enthusiastic souls. Boston opposed to Newp & Ports. forming
Cornell? ch. of their own, but some of their members however belonged to any ch in Eng or Ms. or N. Eng. Some left Boston in good standing & Boston ch had hold on them. Ports. AH farm stronghold.

In R.I. Deacon - Coggeshall. Boston did not recognize Aqued ch as a ch. AH called Bost ch a whore & strumpet, & cont to teach & exhort. Roger Williams became acquainted w/ her & said he knew much good of her.

1642 Wm Hutch. d., age 56. AH took 7 children to L. Is., fearing Ms. would take over R.I., they (Bost) accusing her of witchcraft as her friend Jane Hawkins was a sorcerer in Eng at St. Ives, & she fell in trance & spoke Latin tongue in Portsmouth meetings.

Gillet story Her oldest son Edw capt in Boston militia & wounded at BROOKFIELD in King Philip's War, & died on way home to Marlboro.

35

T. Cornell! With AH went son-in-law Wm Collins, & several other R.I. families. as Dutch Gov — invited them by fair offers, as Lady

UNAFRAID

AH

~~1855~~

Photo pg 244

Deborah Moody (expelled from Salem for Bapt. beliefs) went to Gravesend; she attracted many to this settlement & she was highly regarded by P. Stuy. who allowed her to choose its MGs. A.H. set N. of Lady Deborah, opposite Hell Gate, then to mainland on Pelham Bay near Split Rock (where she d.) - Anne's Hoeck. nearby 2 farm - of Throckmorton & CORNHILL (Cornell).

Photocopy remainder - p. 244 - 253, for FILE -

#

BIBLIOG. (partial)

1. BOLTON, R. HIST. OF WESTCHESTER CO. (NY).
2. CHANDLER, P.W. AM. CRIMINAL TRIALS, VOL. 1.
3. CLAP, ROGER. MEMOIRS; COLL. OF DORCHESTER ANTIQUARIAN AND HIST. SOC. #1
4. CRAWFORD, M.C. OLD BOSTON IN COL. DAYS.
5. SHURTLEFF, N.B. LIST OF PRINTED MAPS IN BOSTON
6. VAN RENSSELAER, MRS. S. HIST. OF CITY OF NY IN 17th C.

1855

[illegible]

13 pgs: contained herein. Mary Dyer, Biog of a Rebel Quaker MARY DYER
by Ruth Plimpton, Radcliffe grad 1994

Photo map. 21-2 [Personal note: Austin of R.I. shows that Mary's grandson ~~Thomas~~ Wm Dyer m. Hannah^3 Briggs of John^1 Briggs of Portsmouth + murdered her 1719 & was hanged for it. ~~[illegible]~~

Introd Gov. of Mas Bay Col ruled 1630-84 - intolerant of rel views, other than their own. Cruel: When hang of MD came to Chas II, he made them stop punish Q but they kept on but did not call them Q. Persecution genl rule in 17th C Europe: R.I. escaped this theo. tyranny - 1663 Chas gr charter, to legal freedom of rel - 1st in Am.

Ch. 1-4 Heredity - may have been d/o Arabella Stuart, desc. of Margaret, Queen of Scotland of Henry VII

00 and Wm Seymour, Marquis of Hertford + also desc of Henry VII & 3rd cousin to Arbella, wed 1610.
Mary born 1611, m. Dyer 1633.
She belonged to St. Martin-in-the-Field church w/stained gl wind + organ. W.D., a milliner, i.e. imported Milan fineries - gloves, capes, broaches, daggers, swords

1635, spr. to Am - Boston - all home w/in ½ mi of ch. Hs - thatch, tiny wind of oiled linen, loft, settle (high backed bench), chair, board (table), benches. Wm Codd good farmer. Tub of tar on Beacon Hill, to fire if danger. Make soap. Mtg church on corner of Corn Hill Rd & King St - whip post & stocks. Sexes ÷ in ch. - oil papered wind. No candles, music, altar. Parson Jno Wilson, 32, of Cambridge who came on Arabella w/ Gov J. Winthrop. P.M. - teacher J. Cotton of Cambridge - expounded doctrine. Thurs. meet, & market day at Robt Keayne's CANDLES hs, a Bd stone or Cole tavern. Both M & Wm joined Boston Ch, after relating rel exp. to satisfaction of all: Wm. a freeman

1636 3 Mar.

CH. 5. Hutchinsonians become Antinomians

Women fetched water from spring on Corn Hill Rd - gathering place
Jn Wilson insisted God's total message to man was in OT - salv by works - conduct. Move, to Ath homes. Merchants like WA - Coggeshall & Codd (hampered by too much control)

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton

Mary D

~~[illegible] R.I. - move to, just before Pett. massacre 1836~~
joined, & Vane of a Geneva theo. school, age 24,
& s/o Sir Henry Vane, on privy council of court
of Chas I. Mary Dyer had known Vane at Buck-
ingham palace. Not at AH house meetings incl.
Winthrop & Wilson, Dudley & magistrate Bradstreet
[Wm Baulston had a tavern, & he a follower].
1636 - My 25 - Vane elected became Gov. A.H. believed God
spoke directly to her, Antinomian - Greek - against
or opposed to law; term coined by Martin Luther.
AH thought only bro-in-law Wheelwright & J Cotton
preached "grace". 1637 - Jan 20. Wheelwright preached
at invit. of J. Cot in absence of Rev Wilson gone to Eng -
accused of sedition. AH son Edw & Wm Baulston were
members of Vane's honor guard - w halberds
CH. 6 Midwives AH & Goody Hawkins (a rhyming preacher
who claimed direct revelation from God, & a prophetess
of St. Ives, who wiped spider webs w/ healing herbs
Del. M.D. deformed baby - no skull - made secret & buried
1637 secret, - laws against this to stop abortion. - in Boston
Oct 17. Churchyard at night w J Cotton there w/ perforated
lantern & spade - 3 wks before trials at Newtown (Cambridge).
CH. 7. 1637 - Nov 7 - zero, 3' snow. Wheelwright convicted
of sedition, disenfranchised & exile; along w Aspinwall &
Coggeshall, both deacons & deputies in Boston. Wm Codd
had not signed petition for Wheel & rem. col Treas.
Also others - Edw Hutch. & Baulston, cobbler Marshall,
a barber, a brickmaker, & W Dyer merchant. A.H.
trial for 2 days - for teaching M & F, drawing people CIVIL
from work & families to meet in her house on Mon
& Thurs, she spoke of her revelations - a mistake,
for Pur. did not believe in direct comm. from God -
Dangerous belief. 75 disenfranchised & disarmed.

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton

Mary D

2 sermons

Ch 8. Cast out of Church – membership consent
1638 MAR necessary. 22 Mar. AH questioned for hrs-pg on 29 errors acc to Weld, Jn Eliot, & Shepherd of Cambridge who called her a very "dangerous woman to sow her corrupt opinion to the infection of many." But congreg denied their right to vote on this; clerics decided. MD followed AH out – hand in hand, & id as mother of monster 5 mos ~~ago~~ earlier. Winthrop ordered baby exhumed & examined. Goody Hawkins (soon banished as witch) described it as face w/o head, had horns, 2 mouths, & claws for feet, & Winthrop sent these details in letters to Hooker in Ct, Gov Bradford in Plym, RWm in Prov, & notables in Eng. Jn Cott had to publicly repent at church for his part. Even RWm made remarks supporting Winthrop.

Ch. 9. 1637, Nov Jn Clarke arr, b 1609 in Eng, educ U. of Leyden in Holl, in anc lang, medicine, law & Theo & worshipped w/ Bapts there. Sympathetic to Antinomians.

1638 RI Mar 7. 18 met at Codd home: RI 6/4 William John

No Cornell

1. Coddington, W 5. Carder, R 9. Holden, R. 13 Porter, J.
2. Aspinwall, W 6. Coggeshall, J 10 E. Hutch, Jr 14 Sanford, J.
3. Baulston, W 7. Dyer, W. 11 E Hutch bro 15 Savage, T.
4. Bull, H 8 Freeborne, W 12 W Hutch 16 Shearman, P.
17. Walker, J. 18. Wilbore, S.

John Clarke composed Portsmouth Compact – "to lay the foundation of a Xtn st where all who bore the name might worship God according to dictates of conscience untrammelled by written articles of faith & unawed by civil power." The first self-elected democratic group in the world org. by freemen independent of ch or col obligation. W. Codd elected Judge

photo map p. 75, 76 Mary Dyer by Plimpton

Mary D

Sought advice from RWm, most of his col. fam. were freed servants into farm.; Codd group had several Cambridge grads. Checked w Plym col on claims, & allowed Aquidneck, & Plym promised to help them as loving neighbors. Codd bought island from Narragansett sachems for white wampum, 10 coats & 20 hoes. Mussels, clams. Bent birches into house frames & plaster w/ twigs & mud, like Inds. Wolves. Meet house a mud hut by the spring. RWm sent 200 Ind to kill pesky wolves endangering livestock. Fences built of rail. Militia — ae 18-50. Baulston lic to keep tavern here

1638 Aug. Coastal earthquake - 2 min. Codd tossed from his ship into sea. Boston got it, so did Ct. — Ports not singled out. Some snowflakes. During this time A H had her menopausal mishaps — her 14th ch. Winthrop said Antinomians being punished & demanded report from Dr J. Clarke who gave lurid details. All these "wonders" evidenced will of God & interpreted as God's punishment for sins. Boston Ch. tried to hang on to Aquidneck members. Rebellious Sam Gorton came from Plym. to join them. Males, banished from Boston, still ruled the roost in Aquidneck. Dr J Clarke preached; AH had secondary role & was dissatisfied w/ it. Gorton thought F equal to M. In Codd absence, W. Hutch became judge. Rift.

prayer mtg at A.H. house

Dr Clarke

1639 18 fam. left Pocasset (Ports) to est Newport led by Codd. summoned on this Ship

No Council

1. H Bull
2. W Brenton
3. Jer Clarke
4. Jn Clark
5. Jos Clarke
6. Thom Clarke
7. J Coggeshall
8. W Coulie
9. W Dyer, Sec
10. N. Easton
11. R Field
12. W. Foster
13. G Gardner
14. G. Hazard
15. R. Jeffries
16. R. Stanton
17. S. Wilbore
18. W. Coddington, Judge

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton

Mary D

Codd had poor attitude toward Ind. – made more
1640 stringent rules than R Wms: No Ind around except for trade
messages, & in journey – or punished. None to borrow
canoe (R.W. Prov. let them, & housed 60 at a time in his house)
None to hunt deer on Aquid. Hog breed – bacon mkt in
Boston, Manhattan & Barbadas, to exch. for rum & spices.
Wool clothes made. Newport took lead & it united w/ Portsm
as it was named now & judge now a govt (W Codd). Drum
warnings from hs to hs between 2.
Ch. 12. AH & MD visited several X after union. WH d. 1642 at
Ports. Same yr she AH went to Lg. Is, & then later to Dutch terr
in Pelham Bay; b. house near Ind trail – they hated
Dutch. 1643, Aug. blueberry pick X. Inds came & tied up
family; k w/ tomahawks. Dogs bark, Eng screams; flames
Escape in boats. Some returned. Fam of AH ~~mutilated~~ butchered – could
not be recognized & charred. Susannah pick. berries
capt. – 2 yrs. Irony – AH against Ind war when Narra-
gansetts fought Pequots. Mary Dyer conducted a
service for AH at Prov. at home of Anne's sis – i.e.
Catherine Marbury Scott; 5 adult Hutch ch. left, includ. Sue
living w/ Pequot Ind.
Ch. 13. 1st Chart for R.I. Only chart to 1642 was its own,
needed royal chart from Crown. R Wm elected to go –
not from Boston but from New Amster 1643. Wm Codd
Gov 1639-47; wealthy, owned most land, livestock. S. Gorton
also tried to get Royal chart in Lond same X R Wms there for Shaw-
omet (Warwick). All 4 col. towns on R.I. united 1647.
Ch 13 Jo. Clarke – preacher, statesman, & MD's dr. He intro'd diff concept
of baptism in Newport – immersion, learned from Anabaptists
in Leyden – offshoot of Bapt Ch in Zurich 1523 – no
infant bp. but total immersion of regenerate Xtns adult; not a
Pur. belief who passed law 1644 for opposers to infant

Mary Dyer - by Plimpton

Mary D

Ap. to be banished (not whipped): MD not wholly favorable
to RWm for he believed veil in church a sign of subjection
of wives to their husbands - an ordinance from God. RW
also refused to offer grace at meal if his wife Mary & their child
present as they still attended bi-week meetings ~~&~~ showing no
break w/ ties w/ Ch of Eng. F predestined to be weaker vessel -
not to be teachers or preachers - Queen Eliz was special three.
w/ liberty to express herself. MD to - Anglic - to Puritan
in Boston - R.I. Antinomians to Newport Anabaptist
[event Q.]. Had 6 children 1640-50's. She left all behind
? 1650 to return to Eng dur. Br Civil War & Chas I executed 1649.
Ch 15. Wm Codd to Eng & Vane intrsd him to Cromwell & John
Milton Sec of Foreign Affairs favored and R.I which chart
annulled RWms of 1643. & Codd got himself appt Gov for
1651 life. ÷ 2 govts - 1 on Prov., 1 on Aquid. RWm, J. Clarke & W Dyer
all went to Eng. to get patent annulled [Mary Dyer already in Eng.].
Ch. 16. new sect in Eng - the Seekers - neither Anglic nor Puritan
looking for a new method of worship. MD interested - Wm
D. not. Vane got R.I. chart of Codd annulled. Wm Dyer
Feb. 1653 appt to go quickly to Am to tell Newport - MD did not go
w/ him as she wanted to meet G. Fox of Q. W Codd forced to
Slavery make public repentance (for intrigue) & retire. Slavery intrsd
1649, but abol. 1652 at Newport because slavery incompatible
1654 w/ democracy. Wm Dyer & son became privateers of Dutch ships
Vane wrote, chiding R.I. - "How is it that there are such
divisions among you? Headiness, tumults, disorders &
injustice? The noise echoes in ears of all... Is not the love
of Christ in you... find out some way of reconciliation...
The Counsel of State gave you your freedom..."
Still Jews from Manhattan came to f. 1st Jewish synagogue
in Am

Mary Dyer, by Chimpton

Mary D

Judge Fell's elegant manor on hill between sea + moor in NW Eng 3 storied grey stone

CH. 17. Swarthmore Hall 1654-57, MD 7 yrs in Eng (purpose for going there unknown). Became ardent Quaker, attend meetings there 1650's. Met Fox age 30. Swarthmore (Fells) main Q. meet, + Vane prob introd MD to Fells.

1654 Vane left Parlia. over bitter argument w Cromwell over franchise to all rel., includ Cath. Margaret Fell a Q. leader who encouraged younger F to leadership. Both MF + MD believed it necessary to make a choice — displease husband or offend God. But Judge did not hinder her tho he did not join sect. Fox, a shepherd + cobbler, attend Presby Ch where father a Church warden. Left it for fields - to study Bible — outside the Church. felt direct presence of God. Preached to 1000 at Pendle Hill.

1652 fell in w Fell's hospitality at Swarthmore. Believed M+F = in God's eyes, inner light. Ideas liberating M.D. who had been stigmatized as mother of monster + made the subject of Jn Cotton's lecture public. Fox suggested she become Q. elder - to preach, "spreading God's seed". Hat Honor — don't tip, Pronoun Honor — use familiar "thee", Refusal to take Oath — Allegiance to govt. MD preached, helped rich + poor in London; Fox missionaries — to Ireland, Wales, Scot + by 1655 to Am — F 1st volunteers to Barbados

CH. 18 MD returns to Am. J Endicott Gov 1649 - 1665. ruthless slayer of Pequots; more intolerant than Winthrop. Q - Pur conflict appeared rel — in reality political.

Pur.	Quaker
hierarchy	M+F created equal
revelations blasphemous	inner light revealed
only Bible is true guide	

Mary Fisher (release from 2 yrs jail in Eng) + Ann Austin, mother of 5 - first Q. to arr in Boston. Jailed here 3 wks + sent back to Eng.

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton.

Mary D

1656 Ag 9, Speedwell arr w 4 m + 4 f Q. - 2 of the M knew both
#2 Bible and Eng law, + Gov had law passed 1656, 57, 58
to keep Q. out - or to be whipped, jailed at hard labor. Stiff
fines imposed on holders of Q. books. MaryDyer +
3 Anne Burden on 3rd ship to arr. 1657 Jan/Feb
Unaware of law - jailed at once 2½ mos. MD had planned
to return to Newport family. slipped letter thru to Wm
who demanded her release + was on condition she stay
out of Ms. In RI she called him thee; he said you

Ch. 19. Woodhouse - 17 Q signed on: via Hell Gate - New Amsterdam

1. Jn Copeland
2. Sarah Gibbons
3. Mary Weatherhead
4. Dorothy Waugh
5. Mary Clark
6. Rich Doudney
7. Wm Brend
8. Humphrey Norton
9. Wm Robinson
10. Robt Fowler
11. Chris Holder
12.
13
14
15
16
17

165—
d been {
round
rip of
peedwell
.w Boston
jail

They sailed across Atlantic w/o compass!

In Prov, Holder tried to del Fox message to R Wm - no Q. intention; as "They admit no interpreter but themselves, for the spirit within, they say, gave forth the Scripture, + is above the Scripture... and that all they do + say is scripture..." Catherine Scott (AH sis) now a Q.

Holder determined to go on to Ms Bay Col to spread Q. message. Some went to New Haven Ct, includ MD who preached + maltreated. Ind. took Holder + Copeland to Sandwich on Cape Cod + made converts. - This was first real Q. meeting in Am.

Persecuted in Boston - for interrupting ch. + jailed. MG made stricter

1658 laws - Q. banished + returning - got an ear whacked, etc For 3rd offense - hot iron bore. Holder, Copeland + Rous ea. got ear severed in Boston. MD + friend Hope Clifton walked from Prov. to Boston to protest + were jailed. Banished, but some friends jailed.

Ch 20. Walked from Newport to Boston again to visit Q. in jail + encourage them. Imprisoned again. Ms Bay feared

Ag, 1659 Eng for Holder highborn; they might lose their charter.

Ch. 21. Wm Dyer wrote Ms Bay it had no legal right to jail MD + treated her like well doggs or hoggs.

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton

Execution

Mary D

Ch 22 20 Oct 1659 Gov Endicott had tried everything to keep Q. out – now ordered execution. MD smiled "The will of the Lord be done," believing herself a kind of Esther & Endicott a King Ahasuerus. But Gov. did not release Q. [Jews], nor change laws banishing lest he lose leadership in Boston. In a letter, she wrote, "It's not my own Life I seek (for I chose rather to suffer w/ the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Egypt) but the Life of the Seed...." "...With whom is my Reward, with whom to live is my Joy, & to die is my Gain..." "...the Lord will overthrow both your Law & you, by his righteous judgements and plagues poured justly upon you..."

LETTER to Court

Winthrop Jr Gov of Ct (tho he had banished MD from New Haven) came to Ms Ct to plead for doomed Q. Her son tried to get her to listen to reason to no avail. MD & 2 men marched 1 mi to gallows – 200 armed men w/ drums beating; ~~all~~ they died, cheerfully, in presence of Rev Jn Wilson. Ladder pulled out from under rope. 100 watched. MD skirts tied – modestly & face covered w Wilson's handkerchief. Son Will Dyer Jr (age 18) rode up w/ reprieve from Gov. Endicott. & given 48 hrs. to depart out of Ms. MD wrote 2nd letter to Court – "with wicked Hands have you put two of Them to Death.... I rather chuse to die than to live... put away the Evil of your Doings, & Kiss the Son, the Light in you before his wrath be kindled in you..."

She left Boston in custody.

Ch. 23. Shelter Island. Catherine Scott's home in Prov. center of Q. meetings. Wm & Anne Coddington now Q. Sylvesters Quakers on Shelter Is. off Long Is. Anne Codd & Ms. Sylvester were the Brinley sisters – Sylvester, not Q, a slave holder which bothered MD & she preached to his Negroes & Indians. Quaker Southwicks & teenage children came to S. Is. – all beaten & jailed in Salem Ms for being Q. Could not pay confinement rent so children to be sent as slaves to Barbados ~~but no~~ rule

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton
Execution

Mary D

of Boston mg. but no sea capt would transport them & all banished from
Apr 1660 Ms. Parents died in MD presence & she protested Ms. cruelty
by secretly returning to Boston (She wanted Eng to hear about Pur. doings)
& challenged authority again - on a mission. Poor spouse Wm begged
Ch. 24. for her life via letter - "oh lett your favoure & pitty and
... save her life"... "but I pray give her me once agen & I
shall bee so much oblaged for ever ... pitty me, I begg itt
with teares ..." [from Portsmouth My 27, 1660] & delivered
by swift Indian.
31 My 1660 MD in Court, age 49. "I came in obedience to the will of God
to the last Gen. Ct desiring you to appeal your unrighteous
laws of banishment on pain of death ..." Many stood outside
her cell window; it was blocked so she could not communicate.
Soldiers escorted her to gallows in N. Boston - 1 mi to the Commons.
She walked. People begged her go back to R.I. & live. She said
above drum beating "Nay, I cannot go back to R.I., for in
obedience to the will of the Lord I came, & in His will I abide
faithful to death". Close to Frog Pond by great elm tree with noose in
Boston Commons - Capt said she is guilty of her own blood.
She contradicted, "Nay, I came to keep bloodguiltiness for
you, desiring you to repeal the unrighteous & unjust laws
of banishment upon pain of death made against the innocent servants of the Lord."

Smiling - hanged. "She hangs like a flag for others to take
example from" - a voice said.

Bronze statue of MD now in front of Boston St. House engraved -

My Life not Availeth Me
In Comparison to
The Liberty of The Truth.

CH.25 Aftermath; Bradstreet (poet Anne's spouse) mg. most responsible
for decision to hang MD. Anne Codd wrote letter of protest to Gov Endicott
condemning his "Cruel & Wicked Law of yours in punishing

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton

Mary D

A Codd Letter 1660

p.192 to 194 & putting to Death those that for Conscience-sake among you do
declare the Word of the Lord; but you, instead of harkening
unto them, both, cut the Ears, & have put to Death three
of them, in your own Will, and not in the Will of the
Lord ——— CONT

photo to analyze

Codd house became 1st Q. meet ho in Newport d. 16—.

News of MD hang reached Eng, Ire, Fr. In Eng Chas II
heard news from his acct Thos. Brinley, father of
Anne Coddington, & commanded condemned & jailed Q.
be sent to Eng—

Ch. 26. Boston in 1661. - 4 Q - total - had been hanged in
Boston when Chas II message rec'd. Many Q. in Ms - esp.
Salem; women joined secretly - due to obsessive cruelty of
domineering men. Ms. invented "Cart & Tail Law". 1661;^{65} no
mention of Q but meant them to draw away attent of Eng
whip half naked, tied to cart - from Boston to Roxbury to [illegible]
whip cont till 1677.

In the end Mass. pd heavy price - Royal Charter withdrawn
in 1686, settlers lost title to land, Br. gov [Andros?]
ruled col, & est Anglic Ch in Boston. Ms. determined
Pur. tradition should survive was last St. to sep Ch/St - 1833.

Ch. 27/28. Jn Clarke in London to get RI charter.
1662 - Chas II had Sir Oliver Cromwell executed; also Sir
Harry Vane. Next day Saml Pepys wrote in his diary -
that Chas II ~~execut~~ decision to execute Vane was his worst
mistake. Finally, Jl. 9 1663, Clarke persuaded Chas II to grant
R I charter, made out to 25 RI men. - 25 yrs after
8 men at Codd house signed Portsmouth Compact.

Ch. 29 Newport 1663 - Nov 26. Charter in gold box brought to
R.I. opened by Gov B. Arnold. - 1st document in
Am to legalize freedom of Religion, & was not
changed for 181 yrs. 128 yrs later its influence
discernable in Bill of Rights 15 Dec, 1791.

MD hang may have influenced Chas II, only Fm Am to die for Q. beliefs

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton

Mary D

Bibliog - Partial

1. De Croese, G. Hist of Q. 1696
2. Rutman Winthrop's Boston
3. Winthrop Journal
4. Ms. Col. Records in several vol. - 8 or more
5. Piercy, Josephine. Anne Bradstreet (poet)
6. Jn Wheelwright Papers
7. Chapin, Doc Hist of R.I.
8. Records of Col. of R.I.
9. Alderman, R.I. Colony 1969
10. Allen RH. New Eng Tragedy in Prose, The Coming of the Q. 1869
11. Anderson, J. Memorable Women of Puritan Times, 1866
12. Arnold, Hist of the St of R.I. 1859
13. Bacon, M. As the Way Opens - Story of Q. Women in Am. 1980
14. Baltzell. Pur Boston & Q. Phila 1979
15. Barclay, Letters of Early Friends 1841
16. Beals - Col R.I. 1979
17. Besse, J. A Collection of the Suffering People Called Q. 1753
18. Best, Mary. Mary Dyer - The Bloody Town of Boston
19. Bicknell. Hist of St of R.I. & Providence 1920
20. Birkhead - Gov Wm Coddington 1883.
21. Bohn - Controversy Between Pur & Q. 1955
22. Braithwaite, Beginning of Q. 1912
23. Dow - Domestic Life in New Eng 1923
24. Easton - R.I. Diary 1699
25. Emmett - Story of Q. 1908
26. Evans. Friends in the 17th C. 1875
27. Frost - Q. Family in Col Am 1973
28. Hallowell - Pioneers Q. 1887
29. Janney - Hist of the Rel Soc of Frs. 1868
30. Jones, Rufus - Q. in Am Col; also - Story of Geo Fox
31. McCallum, Jane. Women Pioneers 1929
32. Morgan - Pur Dilemma: Story of John Winthrop

Mary Dyer, by Plimpton * Photo these pgs.

Mary D

Bibliog

33 Nelson Hero of Aquidneck [prob Dr J. Clarke] 1954
34 Peterson R.I. & Newport 1850
35 - Ross - Mary Askew Fell, Mother of Q-ism 1949
36. Sewell - Hist of the Q. 1718
37 Weeden - Early R.I.
38 Williams, Roger. Complete Writings 1963
in 7 Vol 1642 - 1652
39. Winslow, Ola E. Master Roger Williams 1957

* Photo these pages, for files
14 Pedigree chart of Mary Dyer
21 Boston, 1635
22 Surroundings of Boston
171-2 Mary Dyer letter to Ms. Genl Ct
184-5 Wm Dyer " to Gov Endicott
192-4 Anne Coddington " to " "

Done

P

Miller, Jn. C. The First Frontier: Life in Col Am.

Photo The Quaker Way p. 73-83 + R.I. Way. 67ff.

LIFE:—

Sports + Rec. Pur. aversion to pagan holidays. 1644 Xmas abolished
by Pur Parl. Pointedly worked on Xtn holy days (as X-mas), +
1640 ate Fri meat; + no mince pie on Xtmas; meet hs closed. 1640 Ms.
fine 5 sh. for Xmas fasting or feasting or refusing to work as.
Bay Colony Thanksgiving OK. No Maypole dancing, bowling, archery
on Sabbath - Sat eve to Sun eve. 1656 - Capt Kemble 3 yrs at
sea kissed wife in Boston public + sat 2 hrs in stocks
for "lewd" behavior; No tavern to entertain, or even
barber shave on S. 5 or 6 hrs in meetinghouse.

Rank + Dress - upper cl called "better sort"; ordinary people -
1651 "meaner sort". in MS. laws emblem of soc rank.
Pur. dressed like other Eng. - knee breeches, long sleeved linen
shirts, long stockings, leather shoes, black cone hat w/ silver
buckle not fashionable until 7r Rev.) clothes of gray or brown,
not black. Grandees might wear green drawers (Wm Brewster)
or red waistcoat (Gov Bradford). Lust for finery, Pur. banned
silver, gold, silk, ruffs, beaver hats + no garment w/ more
than 1 slash in sleeve (showing fabric of another color), no naked
excess in apparel arms. Favored plain unadorned apparel (but still thought class
should have dress differences to show rank + might overdress).
1700 Imported wigs - m. to shave off head hair as well as face hair argued.
"God seems to have ordained our Hair as a Test. King Philip War
1676-77 seen seen as God's displeasure w wigs. But Cotton Mather
wore periwig - as upper class men in Boston did; upkeep ex-
1750's pensive. Geo II did not like wig; so m. let hair grow long +
powdered it + wore tied in tail in little silk bag.
John Hancock a "Macaroni" - foppish w lace, braid, silk stockings
18th C cane + sword + diamond buckles. Farmers hair long + tied
w/ ribbon, brass buckles, trousers (not breeches + pumps) + cowhide
shoes. + jackets (50 of Tea Party no Ind feathers or paint - just

Miller. 1st Frontier

trousers & jackets (common men).
1740 Q. Phila wore no cuffs or buttons; hooped petticoats, bare necks, or
shoestrum w/colors. but wealthy did wear expensive fabrics
1700 stiff whalebone stays, hoop petticoats 6' diameter, high
heeled shoes, long gloves, coiffured hair, fans, headdress
(to accompany low-cut dress exposing bosom).
CITIES. Phila sts illuminated by lamps, except when moon
1751 shone; night watch, fire; ordered streets; gloomy Q. Privy
Wolf. Hogs in sts. Regulated taverns; prices fixed by law.
In Pur New Eng — position of tavern keeper highly desired of good
1750 morals. Waterfront pop of sailors — & innkeeper no longer of pillars
in comm. Wherever Anglic Ch strong — Xmas merry & feasting.
1690 — 54 taverns in Boston lic to sell booze. Strong aversion
to theater. until after Am Rev; but one in Phil 1754 despite
Q. opposition.
LABOR — Indentured servants found by contract — as freeman
recd suit of clothes, agric tools. 1st slaves were Indians —
refused to work — 1/2 the value of blacks. 1715, 2000 b. sl. of 12,000 pop
1740 — 2570 NYC black. 1st Eng slaver, Capt John Hawkins'
a devout Xtn whose slave ship named Jesus — no stigma.
Neg. & Ind slaves called "servants", not slaves. Whites not bound
for life — blacks were, w children inheriting thralldom.
1758 — Narragansett planter in R.I. most like S. planter — bred
stock — race horses. Slaves. Races on beaches — Newport. Fine
furniture. Open range for domestic animals, hence wore brands.
1638 HOUSING — Log houses introd by Finns & Swedes on Dela R. Windows
of oil paper, or thin scraped horn. New Neth Dutch women warmed
themselves w/live coals in warming pans placed in low stool & put under
their skirts. Early candles of pine knots sliced & full of turpentine
+ pitch; replaced in turn by tallow candle, spermaceti
expensive candle & whale-oil lamp. Rugs on table — not floor.
Food & Drink — Corn, the staff of life. More food on farm than in Europe.
Import salt from Sp, sugar f/W. Indies, spices from Asia

Miller: 1st Frontier

"Prejudice against water.
"Water, Jamestown people said, is contrary to the nature of the
Eng". Good beer of molasses w sassafras, according to Wm Penn.
Beer more hygienic than water. Pur had spec prayers
to be said during the brewing of beer, hoping Satan would
not spoil the mash - did not condone overindulgence.
or end up in stocks or pillory - or wear letter D for Drunkard.
Fr & Ind war soldiers rations includ rum. 1694 - Cotton
Mather lamented - Training days are drinking days -
men to taverns after drill. Coffee, tea & choc. pop. drinks.
1 COURTSHIP, MARRIAGE, CHILDREN - often arranged marriages.
Dowry controlled by papa could discourage unlikely suitor.
N.Eng bundling in bed - strict code: unpardonable by
Fr-Ind War - soldiers not to be trusted. Clergy now
called it sin; houses were warmer now. & it fell into
disrepute. Dutch penalty for bundling not as severe as
NEng, as they allowed couple to live together after
they had published marriage bans. Single F looked upon
as tragic, & bachelors thought to shirk their duty to God,
the comm, & F; & were taxed. Great demand for wealthy
widows. Both T. Jeff & G. Wash m. wealthy widows. Marr
a civil matter, not Ch in NEng as Pilgr. learned this custom
in Holl. - as it involved prop & legal concerns of St. Not until
1692 were Ms. clergy allowed to perform marr. - & then only as
agents acting for the St. Q - no clerical authority - but
they too required pub of banns to prevent hasty marr.
F - a helpmate but inferior status - no legal rights to
children - husbands were gods. Except in NEng where
M could not beat F, or vice versa - other col regulated by
law how much M could beat wife, & then w/ stick no
bigger than a finger in diameter. Geo Wash personally
ordered wife & stepdau's clothes, furniture, wall paper &
color of curtains for Mt Vernon, & directed placement
of furniture - with Martha's money. What hap

Miller: First Frontier

pened to Anne Hutch used as warning to F not to meddle in
theo. A man's world. Wife was her husband's legal prop
like slaves & servants. Divorce easier in N Eng. In N.Y. from
1664 to Am Rev, not one divorce legalized - Ch of Eng established
here. Both M&F punished equally for crimes; except witchcraft
short of labor Col. Am allowed F to run taverns, ferries
but not pol, church, or prof. Benj. Franklin came from a
family of 17 children. Large fam. the rule - child econ
asset, labor needed + they did. John Cotton rec. child till 7, &
then work in earnest; & vocation chosen by 12. In N Eng
child introd to Hell; Dutch more lenient - adolescent behavior
viewed w/ phil. resignation: 1st schoolmaster complained
EDUC. about orders as some Dutch parents forbade use of rod. As a
result, kids beat one another. Pur doubted spirit exp of
illiterate - must be educ to read Bible & be a visible Saint.
[Reading] - most imp of 3 R's; writing suffered. Early Q.
Q were anti-intellectual - Geo Fox thought Oxford or Cambridge
did not fit one to be a minister of Christ - emp. inner light;
no trained clergy - carpenter could speak on rel. as well as
coll. grad (horrified Pur). But Penn a grad at Oxford did not
1681 despise educ. + his govt required child to age 12 to get basic
educ, but col never dev free public ed. Priv. schools - Friends
School - 1/2 of founders of Am Philosophical Soc were Q; 1st
Med school was Q. Pa Hosp. staffed by Q. mostly. Phila. also
led in prison reform & insane treatment of. School for Negroes,
& girls.

p.237 MEDICINE δ
1713 Rev Cot. Mather lost 4 child & his wife in measles epidemic in 2 wks.
1735-37 John Wilson of Andover lost 8 children of throat distemper (diphtheria)
in 1 wk. Many instances of multiple deaths in 1 family. Due to
epidemics only 2 of Cot. Mather's 15 children (b. to 3 wives) survived
him. Epidemics - malaria, dysentery, fevers - typhoid, yellow &
scarlet; cholera, dipth, typhus, measles, whoop cough, smallpox.

NOTE
May acct
for 5 mss
ch. 7
John 3 Cornell

Miller: First Frontier

Nostrums - pills of cotton, sugar & oil, pulverized aloes. for
cough, drink of marigolds boiled in wine posset; for sciatica
mashed roasted onions boiled in oil & rum & apply to hips
in a plaster; wash hair in rum & curl hair; for frozen
limbs - apply cow dung boiled in milk.
Herbs - sassafras for Fr pox. ginseng & tobacco healthful
herbs. - tobacco good for digestion, gout, toothache
1734 rattlesnake root good for everything, as was blood letting
Most dr self-trained, or learned from practitioners. Only 5%
had MD's in 1776. Quacks abounded. The first doc in
1630 Boston fined £5 for his useless scurvy cure which
he sold dearly. Most women had bad teeth by 30 - B Franklin
charged ~~that~~ to hot soup & frozen apples. Toothache treated with
gunpowder & butter; or barber or blacksmith pulled it.
Parson - physician disappeared by 18th c.
1751 1st hosp in Am, at Phila.
1765 1st med school, also "
1768 Med school at King's College [Columbia Univ).
1783 Harvard Med School
Mass innoculation for small pox, Boston by Cot Mather & Dr Boylston
900 out of 6000 d. of it. Opposition ~~to~~ - as God preserved or
destroyed whomever ~~He~~ pleased & rebuked comm for its sins
~~w/ epidemics~~

CRIME / PUNISHMENT. White F - carnal knowledge w/ Ind had
Ind figure cut out of red cloth & sewed on R arm for punish-
Convicted rapist wore iron collar around neck.
1718 Q. leniency toward criminals led to more crime; so Pa. revised code
along Eng lines: 1767 - 16 capital crimes in Pa. 1745-75,
61 executions in Pa. Crimes punished severely - pillory.
Hangman employed for £3.
Am dumping ground for Br felons. - 30,000 sent & sold as
laborers. 7-14 yrs), imp labor force in MARYLAND. Often
blamed for crime. 18th Gr Br most lawless country in civilized world
despite 200 capital offenses listed.

Miller: First Frontier

REL - Ch. thrive on persecution & poverty; weakened if strong econ & soc; contain seeds of own destruction - worldliness, money-making replaced self-denial, labor & thrift. Blue laws no substitute for private morality, Pur. code = anti-human nature. Cot. Mather's list of sins includ. mixed dancing, cockfight, cards, smoking, reading trash, wanton conversation, Sabbath break, disobedience to superiors, sleeping in church.] Pleasure seeking & profit. Most 2d Migr. Pur leaders died, lamenting their failure in goals.

1665 J. Davenport of New Haven said place had gone to the Devil. Wm Penn thot his Holy Experiment had failed.

Rel of Nature - Deism - Enlightenment ala B. Franklin - appeared - intellectual - no meaning to most.

1734 Revolt against Deism - v Pa Pietists, J Edw Congreg & 1739 w

Gr Awake. G Whitefield. Teen age girls susceptible to mass hysteria created by evangelists: "College Enthusiasm." - Emotion.

++

Jan 1621 PILGRIMS — barely survived on 3 seal, 1 cod, & an eagle Miles Standish caught — good as mutton. Gov Bradford described this starving time - scarce 50 remained - & these cared for 6 or 7 sound persons - Rev Brewster & Capt Standish - [includ. J Brown] dying, desired but a small can of beer: Ind. helped w/ food

1621 & first saw Samoset Mar 1621 & he asked for beer like an Eng (had learned a little Eng from coast fishermen) but they had none but gave him biscuit & pudding. Squanto had been shanghaied to Eng & he saved them - he showed them how to fish & plant. [illegible] usually treated Ind w Xn charity; pd for supplies & land titles.

1st Thanks. Massasoit & 90 braves to feast

MASS BAY COL.

1630 - 1500 more affluent, better educ & higher soc. than any other large group of col. to come to Am — brought furniture, servants, nails, glass, guns & ammo, iron & livestock.

1630-1 Thos Dudley wrote re 1st winter in Mass Bay & said a Mrs. Coddington died, along w/ J. Hooker's sister Mrs Alcock, etc &

Miller: 1st Frontier

+ Salem minister Mr Higginson of consumption — 200 from Apr 1630 — Dec 1631. In 1631, 100 discouraged lus. ret. to Eng

PURITAN WAY

Pur [illegible] substituted INfallible Book for an INfallible Pope — God spoke full + explicit directions in Bible, Not pursuit of happiness — but pursuit of Godliness: 2/3 of pop. did not qualify for ch membership — could not give convincing evidence — so debarred from Cong. Ch + Heaven — but held to moral code prescribed for Visible Saints — in effect, 2 ch — 1 for Elect, 1 for outsiders [(required to be insiders as ch attendance mandatory). Law forbade "unprofitable fowlers" — wasted powder + shot — so gov Winthrop gave it up tho he loved fowling but not a good marksman. Connection between hair + holiness — if long (covered ears) sinful, as was drinking,

1637 etc: In 1637, Boston had 2 TAVERNS — + officer there monitored

Was one Cornell's. amt drunk. Hard to find tobacco in Bible, so clergy had pipes Sin of one person might be downfall of whole comm from God's wrath [like Achan at Ai] Thus snooping became "doing the Lord's work — being brother's keeper — a passion for running other people's lives. Singles not allowed to live alone or in pairs. 16 bachelors in Dorchester arraigned for NOT living w families:

1652 2 bachelors of Windsor Ct could bach together by special permission —

N.Eng groups of 10 fam. in charge of a tithing man = who kept order in town & Ch. Keep fam intact — cardinal law principal — quarreling couples court ordered to pillory for whipping. Nothing INDIVIDUAL; all GROUP ACTIVITY. Fam. the cornerstone of the social order; under patriarchy — fam prayers, fam reading of Bible. Togetherness. Servants + apprentices part of fam — but not Negro slaves..

CONNECTICUT VALLEY — had better land, more rel freedom (altho some thought Boston too lax) T. Hooker alarmed by rel. discord in M.S. & leadership of John Cotton of Boston & he intended Ct. to be an improvement on MsBay. — but it proved not much except for Fund. Orders — as it

Miller: First Frontier

had no imp seaport & stayed insular & isolated, acting & thinking alike: CONformity — a characteristic of Conn Yankee (tinkered w/ gadgets) but left Ch/St alone.

NEW HAVEN — even more so. Davenport hoped to est. a truly apostolic ch/& soc, Yale f. to show the way to Harvard. Aim for Theocracy. Ch more narrow; greater power over civil govt. Only this col. to even abolish trial by jury: few qualified for Ch membership. 1656 — Blue Laws strict — even standard measurements for beer casks determined by reference to Deut. Law decreeing death for rebellious son. Even in New Jersey, where Pur. influence was strong, a similar law enacted.

N.J.

Whose?

[RHODE ISLAND WAY — photo, for files]

If the Sp god was acquisition of gold, the Eng god was land.

KS.

~~1860~~ – ~~1868~~

ROGER WILLIAMS

DPL. B W6795K [basement]

1666-1683

RW

ROGER WILLIAMS

Knowles, Jas. D. Memoir of Roger Williams:
founder of the St. of R.I. 1834
Knowles, professor, Newton Theo. Institute

APPENDIX:
1. Re Oliver Cromwell + RW. - kinship? may not have existed
2. ANABAPTISTS - a bp. person being re-bp as adult.
from 1535, Ger.
MASON LETTER
1670 3. MAJ. MASON - from Prov. - 22 Je 1670, RW
CONN, wrote letter to him. Mason Capt, 1638 Pequot War. Before
Gillet that a soldier in Low Countries under Sir Thos Fairfax.
Capt + Mason early set of Dorchester, Ms 1630. To Windsor. App ~~Dep~~ Maj.
Gen'l of Ct forces; 1660, elect Dep Gov of Ct. D. Norwich
age 73 in 1672/73. Admired by Winthrop
Letter of R.W. to Mason - 35 yrs. after banishment from SALEM in snow - calls him honored, dear & ancient
friend - you said you longed to see my face once more
before you died. Called R.I. wilderness his "Peniel" - i.e. I have
seen the face of God. Yr after banish. Pequot War began
"in which, Sir, the Lord made yourself, w/others, a
blessed instrument of peace to all New Eng." Upon
request from Ms Gov went by canoe on great seas to negogiate
1630s w Pequots for peace. RW ~~invited~~ accomodated in to his hs. in Prov. Genl
Stoughton + his officers + marched w them to Narragansett
sachems to negogiate. Admitted Ind's vexations made
set's crust "a dry, hard one." Says his colony R.I. -
"a great number of weak & distressed souls" flying
here from Old & New Eng - "the Most High & Only Wise
hath, in his infinite wisdom" provided this country
+ this corner as a shelter for the poor & persecuted,
according to their several persuasion. Said Haynes,
Gov of CT, who long ago pronounced banishment against me, at Cam-
bridge, then Newton, yet said unto me, in his own house at Hartford -
'I think, Mr W, I must now confess to you, that the most
wise God hath provided + cut out this part of his world for a

Memoir of Roger Williams

RW

MASON LETTER (con't)

check this

1st pub. in Vol I of Ms. Hist. Coll.

refuge & receptacle for all sorts of consciences .... the King's Majesty promises no person in this col. shall be molested or questioned for the matters of his conscience to God, so he be loyal & keep the civil peace. "Sir, we must part w/ lands & lives before we part w/ such a jewel." .... "But to part w/ this jewel we may as soon do it as the Jews w/ the favor of Cyrus, Darius & Artaxerxes. Yourselves pretend liberty of conscience, but alas! it is but self, the great god self, only to yourselves". RW says King experimenting [w R.I.] whether civil govt could consist w/ liberty of conscience. Tales carried to Archbishop Canterbury & some R.I. plowing on Sabbath & do not pray common prayer [neither did Ct]. RW charges Ct w/ not keeping the Sabbath i.e. the 7th day. "Forced worship stinks in God's nostrils". "There is no other prudent, Xtn way of preserving peace in the world, but by permission of differing consciences"

[CT. concept of freedom of conscience condemned by RW]

RW b. 1599 d. 1682-84 in his 84th yr. Bur on his estate ?? had 6 children - daus b at Plymouth & Salem Mary Freeborn; son named Providence, b at Prov;

6 children of

R.I. a refuge for men of all opinions; other colonies in N Eng intolerance prevailed; ∴ many sects - all weak at first - uneasy & discordant spirits.

Memoir of Roger Williams 1599 —
Knowles

RW

b. London

Ch. 1 - 2 - 3 -
Tradition poss. in Wales, kin of Prob untrue Oliver Cromwell? to Oxford? or Cambridge to study law & theo; rec'd Anglic Episcopal orders. Lyon arr 5 Feb 1630/31 at Nantasket, & Gov Winthrop said brought "Mr Williams, a godly minister, w/ his wife, Mr. Throgmorton, ... & others, about 20..." Set sail from Bristol Dec 1, 16?; Lyon regular colony ship; arr again in Nov w Winthrop's wife, John Eliot & others. Wrecked Nov 1633. Invited to Salem as teacher ass't Rev Skelton. T.C.? He had refused to join Boston ch due to their ties to Ch of Eng. Persecuted. Went to Plymouth by plantation invitation 2 years ass't there & respected by Gov Bradford but not by Elder Brewster there, & ~~com~~ earned respect of ~~[illegible]~~ Indians, learning some customs & lang. "My soul's desire was, to do the natives good" - includ sachem Massasoit, & Canonicus the Narragansett sachem. (later to buy R I lands from C. & protect New Eng from native fury). Again invited to Salem Ag. 1633.

Ch. 4 - ~~Held~~ to anabaptism, liberty, Ind rights to their land ~~offending~~ offensive opinions. Skeleton d 1634, Ag. ch. ordained RW to office of teacher. Popular as a preacher but pr f. use of veils in rel. assemblies. opposed by J Cotton Jn Eliot pr. against M. wigs & long hair

Ch. 5 RW opposed oath of freeman NO to unregenerate man. Summoned to Genl Ct at Boston 1635, July for divers dangerous opinions includ insistance of Col on uniformity; Hooker was chosen to help him see his errors - failed, so next day Ct banished him - to depart w/in 6 wks: Plan to send him to Eng due to infection of his principles: Esp devout women in Salem embraced his opinions; 20 persons plan for Narragansett Bay plantation. Left mid winter in exile - belief: civil power has no jurisdiction over the conscience: Puri. regarded toleration a crime, had the truth, & must oppose error by all methods in their power: Toleration is the grand work of the Devil, his masterpiece. Jn Cotton, most powerful in Col, that RW wrong & dangerous to Ch & St

Their conviction

Memoir of Roger Williams

ch. 6 — 7 — 8 — 9

1635/6 Joined by a few friends at Seekonk (Bristol RI). Then to purchased Providence. Gov Vane sent RW letter Jl 1636 re murder of Oldham by Inds. of Block Is, same yr Hartford Ct settled. RW bought land — title. Sachem Canonicus made his mark, a bow; his nephew Miantunomo, an arrow. Land ceded to 12 for persecuted. ~~followers~~ incl. John Throckmorton, described as my ~~a~~ loving friend RW joined by wife & 2 ch from Salem 1636; " member of Salem Ch, joined exiled pastor. b. house by spring H_2O & planted corn about his hands — his home for 40 yrs +; bur. here too. Settlers into agric, b. hs. on 6A ~~plot~~ — planting land (upland) in another place as was his salt meadow in the bog for winter fodder.

ch. 10 Pequot War — After Jn Oldham trader murdered on Block Is. vol. force of 80 under Endicott of Ms. k. many Inds at B. Is. & on CtR. Peq. retaliated & hoped Narragansetts would join them. RW prevented league & saved whites from destruction, etho Canonicus was about the plague "very sour," as RW wrote, ... "I sweetened his spirit, but possessed him, that the plague & other sicknesses were alone in the hand of the one God"! ... & Canonicus wanted a present of a box of sugar (8#).

1637 My — May Mason w 77 Ct — Ms men & several hundred Ind attacked Peq. at Mystic Fort. Dreadful slaughter. Later, other Peq. k in Great Swamp, extinguishing tribe. RW invaluable service to Ms. not recognized by Ms gratitude, so much they feared his doctrines

CH. 11. Anne Hutchinson at Pawtuxet:

See Garrison. Prov. attracted set. from other col & Europe — freedom of conscience. Prov disfranchised 1 of its # for refusing to allow his wife to attend meeting as often as she wished — a Joshua Verin who left & col reclaimed his prop. — he was 1 of the 1st 6 to accompany ~~him~~ RW to R.I. & returned to Salem.

1637/8 — Aquidneck Portsmouth on N. side of Is. set by AH over Ms fermentive nature of indwelling of Holy Ghost in believer, & connection between sanctification & justification & opinions more heretical. Followers of her included Thos. Savage, Wm Dyer, Wm Baulstone, Wm Codd etc. Natives got 10 coats &

Memoir of Roger Williams

Knowles

hose

hose? 20 hoes & 40 fathoms of wampum for Is. Codd. Mg with title of Judge (after manner of O.T. Jews), & became Gov. 12 Mar 1640. Wm Hutchinson 1 of 4 assts, & Wm Dyer, Sec. Wm Hutch d 1642.
1642 & AH went to Lg Is. & next yr (Sept 1643) k by Ind.

Ch. 12 & 13 Prov. Rd. RW prob preached in his house, & in grove. Est policy that none be molested for his conscience - hence no distinct ch bldg or org. Acc. to Gov Winthrop, vol 1, p. 293, Mar 1638/9, At Prov sis of Anne Hutchinson i.e. Kathryn Scott infected w/ anabapt went 1637/8 to live at Prov & infl RW to be re-bpt. by apst Holliman, late of Salem & then RW re-bp him & 10 others. They also denied bp. infants, & would have no magistrates.

RW reared Anglican felt he could not bp. until bp - hence Holliman selected. [1st 12 members do not includ Throckmorton, or Cornell.] RW was ord clergyman of Ch of Eng; refused communion w/all, save his own wife. Some followers left him; he too left ch. 3 or 4 mos after org.

7043 firebrand "quenched" 2nd pt p. 247 acc to Rich. Scott, dec then bp not right doubted validity of prev. bp because not admin by apostle. Set up another group 1639 w 2 or 3, & con't 1 or 2 yrs until 2 of these 3 left him. Scott himself left B. group & joined Quakers. RW himself left no writings on this. Some yrs later RW did write that no ministry now exists to or preach gospel admin ordinances - as this belonged to apostles only.

1644 "Bloody Tenent" - felt true church & ministry now lost; only ministry now is ministers to explain rel truths & bear witness against error [auth: says erroneous views but he formed them], prone to hasty decisions, R. Scott adversary accuses RW of a disposition to manage everything acc. to his own pleasure. Succeeded by Rev Chad Brown, ord 1642; meet hs b. 1700, under Rev Pardon Tillinghast. con't exist.

Hugh Peters, Salem, wrote that RW & wife, John Throgmorton & wife, Thos Olney & wife, Stukely Westcott & wife, Mary Holliman

Knowles: Memoir of RW

he wrote in 1639. & Widow Reeves, denied Bay churches were true churches
& all except 2 were re-baptized
Ch. 14 RW had no prop – supported fam by personal labor,
planting, tr. w/ natives
Sam'l Groton, b London, to Bost 1636; rem to Plym 1637 &
banished; remove to Newport, R.I. Je 1638 for 1–2 yr,
& banished 1641, to Prov –; bought land 1641–2
at Pawtuxet (~~Portsmouth??~~); he & 11 friends b. land
from disputed Miantinomo, tract called Shawomet (Warwick)
& Groton & 10 friends seized & imprisoned by Boston,
& nearly hanged but rec'd for unjust poss of the land severe punishment in
chains, & hard labor; in Eng got clear title & returned
Ch 15. 1643 – Union of 4 N Eng col. Preface began – "Whereas
p 190 we all came into these parts of Am w/ one & the same end
& aim, namely, to advance the kingdom of our Lord
Jesus Christ, & to enjoy the liberty of the Gospel in
purity w/ peace ..., we ... do conceive it our
bounden duty, w/o delay, to enter into a present
Consociation among ourselves, for mutual help".
This league cont until 1686; R.I. was excluded,
but infl of RW among Inds preserved the colony
from perils
Miantinomo capt, imprisoned at Hartford – 5 ch
elders (clergy) condemned him to death, & enemy Uncas
slaughtered him – ala fate of Agag (civilians did
not support clergy in this). RW gone to Eng at this time
from Manhattan (to obtain charter for R.I. col
& Ind assaulted Dutch in L Is – massacred Anne Sept 43
Hutch, & tho RW interceded, & Ind pacified Je 1643.
Ch. 16. Sir Henry Vane helped RW get charter 1643/4, Mar 14. Ret.
Sept 1644.

Knowles. Memoir of RW

Ch 17-18-19

1647 1st Gen Assbly met Portsmouth, 19 May 1647 - W. Codd rep Newport. Govt held by the free & vol. consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants ... all men may walk as their consciences persuade them .. And let the lambs of The Most High walk, in this colony, w/o molestation ..

1648 2nd Genl Assbly - Wm Codd elected Pres.,

1648/9 Wm Codd went to Eng to procure a separate charter for island [What island? Aquidneck

1649 RW letter mentions Mr Throgmorton brought in some wheat & maize Corn (very dear) from Hemstead, & those parts - which RW bought. i.e [~~Long~~ Is]

1651 Wm Codd. ret. from Eng - appt Gov of islands for life [Mary Dyer slayed in Eng]

CH. 20-21

1651 RW again to Eng, Nov. via Boston. Col ÷ Newport & Portsmouth under Wm Codd rule; Prov & Warwick under RW m Charter.

1656 arr at Boston, sect Quakers (begun by Geo Fox ca 1647 - wild fanaticism of early adherents. Imprisoned, banished, their books burnt. Oct '56 - ship's masters fined £100 for bringing over Q. 1657 - 1st off - 1 ear lopped. 2nd - other ear. 3rd - mouth, tongues bored thru. 1658 - 10 sh. fines for attend Q meeting Oct - death to all Q. returning after banishment; R.I. did not join Bay col in this persecution, appealed to Eng for protection of R.I. Distinguished reserving between rights of Conscience vs duty of civil obedience which guard the civil peace. - diff between punishment vs persecution

1655 Je - RW, Pres. - succeeded by ~~Wm Harris~~ Benedict Arnold as Pres.

p. 300 CH. 22 -

1658 Cromwell d. Restoration of Chas II. RW refers to a cup of Corn cider in winter cold 1660 - my neighbor Mrs. Scott [sis. of Anne Hutchinson]. drawn from Q & Their meetings.

Knowles. Memoir of RW

Ch 23–24

1657 Half-way covenant ratified in Boston. Opposed Harv. Pres
C Chauncey & Rev Increase Mather. Boston Ch. seceders
1669 (opposers) forming Old South in Boston
[1700 Stoddard opened Lord's Supper to all, as converting ordinance]
New R.I. charter from Chas II – still fundamental law
of R.I. "No person within the said colony ... shall be any wise
molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question,
for any differences in opinion, in matters of religion,
who do not actually disturb the civil peace of our
said colony ... freely & fully have & enjoy his own
& their judgments & consciences, in matters of rel. con-
cernments, ~~throught~~ ... they behaving themselves peace-
ably & quietly, & not using this liberty to licentious-
ness & profaneness, nor to the civil injury or out-
ward disturbance of others."

Nov 24, 1663 Charter rec'd w/ joy, brought from Boston by Capt
Geo Baxter & read publicly at Newport – 1st
Assbly under this new charter, elect Benedict Arnold
as Gov, RW as 1 of Assts

1663-4 Rom Cath excluded from citizenship – freemen
1665 oppressive laws enacted against Quakers.
inconsistent w/ charter
(Acc to Cot Mather 1695 dwellers in R.I. included
Antinomians, Familists, Anabaptists, Antisabbatarians,
Arminians, Socinians, Quakers, Ranters, everything in
the world but Rom Cath & true Xtns.]
Little known of RW private life – 1665-67 obtained land
Had controversy w/ Quakers – R.I. generally friendly
toward Q – did not join other col. in their persecution –
1669 Geo Fox (b 1624) visited Am 1672-3 1669, stay 2 years –
challenged to a debate by RW at Newport & Prov on 14 propositions
to show Q unscriptural & pernicious, but Fox "slily
departed" for Eng to avoid but RW debated at

Knowles: Memoir of RW

age 73, rowed over to Newport all day

1672 Newport anyway 9 Ag 1672 v. J Stubs, J. Burnyeat & W. Edmundson — for 3 days. Disorderly scene. RW bro Robt, schoolmaster in Newport. Debate continued 17th at Prov for 1 day.

1672 law, enacted by Genl Assembly — a deputy to rec 2sh per day; military exemption for those of conscientious scruples

1673 it enacted — fine of 6sh for sell liquor, getting drunk, or having gaming house.

1679 enacted — fine of 5 sh for hiring Ind or servant on 1st day; 5 sh, or 3 hrs in stocks for gaming, playing, shooting, or alehouse drinking on 1st day

1675 King Philip's War:
Prov. inhabitants went to Newport for safety. RW accepted military commission as Capt., age 77.

1676-May Prov. attacked by Ind; 29 homes burnt

1676 Ind nearly exterminated. every white family lost a relative. Order to sell Ind now in town — from

14 Ag 1676 8 to 30 years, depending on age. RW was one of whites to sign transaction order !!!

He died Jan 16, 1682/3 — to May 10, 1683, age 84. Bur in fam plot on his own fam plot near his house.

ch. 26 Summary: Writings

ch. 27 His character: Tender conscience. Understood Ind better than any other man of his age. Made friends, not many converts. All valued his friendships. Calvinist. views now held by Bapt. Never acknowledge belonging to any denomination. In pol — favored rights of the people. Had faults —

Gaustad, E.S. Lib. of Cons: R Wms

(I own this book in pb soft cover)

foreword: RW a quarrelsome dissenter - few followed or admired. Jn Q. Adams called him a "polemical porcupine". But he was committed to Lib of Cons out of deep rel. conviction. His legacy to Am.
Preface: 1936, Ms formally expunged from its laws the sentence of exile 1635 imposed on RW - 300 yrs before - revoked it. Invocation - Cath bishop; benediction - rabbi. Audience sang "O God, our help in ages past, Our hope for years to come".

Ch. 1. Exile from Eng.
b in London, crown + Jas I. Ch of Eng. Of Cambridge 1627. Rel from early age.
Chosen, or elected by God id w/ holy community, a sanctified elite i.e. Ch of the redeemed - saint. Unlike Calvinists, Gen'l Bapt. believed that Christ died for all mankind, not just the Elect; i.e. atonement "gen'l", not restricted or "~~particular~~". [There were also Particular Baptists] bel. in adult bp. by immersion. RW enemies put him in Bp, or even Anabp, camp. [illegible] Mar. 1629 Mary Barnard d/o preacher. RW & J. Winthrop knew ea other in Eng 1629. JW Winthrop to
Apr Am 1630 on Arbella. in 8 mos. RW on Lyon to ~~Salem~~ Ms., arr. 5 Feb, 1631. + JW noted "Mr. Williams, a godly minister".

Ch. 2. Exile from Ms.: Pur. idea was to est. a "true" Ch of Eng 3000 mi away; RW idea - gradual conviction - separate from Ch of Eng & against nat'l church. The ind conscience should be in chg. of Sabbath keeping, blasphemy avoidance, etc - not the sheriff. JW said mgs. & clergy should work together to achieve common ends. RW separatism drove him to Salem, then to Plymouth Col 40 mi S for
1633 2 yrs - where he asst pastor & learned ca Ind.; Gov Wm. Bradford said he was "a man godly & zealous" & then he fell into some strange opinions. - irascible. Said Ind more civil & courteous in their dealings w/ one another, the Eng were - that Eng Xtns were wanting in Humanity. Inds. hospitable, but Jews & Xtns "sent Christ Jesus to the Manger". Eng

Gaustad — Lib of Con

grabbed Ind land as they did not believe in prop rights —
RW countered they observed land boundaries w/in tribes
& he was against forced conversion of Ind. Wanted no
part in it — he called it "Antichristian conversion".
paraphrased Woe is me if I convert from one false religion to
another; Abhorred Christendom (not same as Xty) a polluting mixture
of pol w/rel. Rel should be free of pol — & conversion free
of armies & courts. A nat'l ch is a pol. church. Thirst
after righteousness, not after pol. patronage & power.
RW unsettling opinions re landgrab & King's legal right to grant
titles to Ind prop threatened both Charter & Eng. Crown.
1634 Got on to veil issue for F. 1 Cor 11:13, also favored by Endicott
& Skelton in Salem 1630. Next issue; Flags — Endicott ~~[illegible]~~ cut
red papist cross (papal) from Eng flag & Jn Cotton questioned it; RW blamed
as a scapegoat for all the novelties, as in teaching "our great sin
in claiming right thereby to this country" — which galled
them most. — King had no moral right. Issue: Oaths
Note concluding "so help me God" — OK for believer, not to unregenerate —
as taking the name of God in vain OATHS (not oath of freeman).
1635 RW made teaching elder in Salem (Skelton 1634 had d), but Salem ch
not allowed congreg autonomy — violation of liberty
RW lost support from Plym, Salem, Cotton — he had cast doubt on charter,
Gen Court, ch, land (somewhat defended by T Hooker) was banished for dangerous
opinions — given 6 wks to depart. Ms hist, pol. conservatives &
Cong. favor Cotton's defense; R I hist, pol. radicals, & Bapt. favor
RW's defense 17th–20th C. RW accused pol & rel have become one in Ms.
so banished from Ms & excomm. from Ch. Ms. chg RW w/being
"holier than thou" complex, & bragged that all Familists, Anti-
nomians, Anabaptists & other Enthusiasts shall have free liberty
to keep away from us — hence it defended itself against the
charge that it denied rel. liberty. RW regarded as very
"self-conceited unquiet, turbulent, & uncharitable spirit" —
maybe even "divinely mad", heady, unruly &

Gaustad: Lib. of Con

Jan 1836: incorrigible. 14 wks in howl wilderness - no bread; bed in hollow tree, lost, no fire, or company. He wrote in poem re this time - "No Cup so bitter, but's made sweet, When God shall Sweet'ning be."

By 32 came: from Salem, Dorchester ?? & commn gov. by mutual consent & bro love, but need for govt arose; asked ~~Plym fr advice~~ friend Winthrop for advice, who in turn needed RW help w/ Pequots from upper Hudson R now occupying lower Conn - brutal Inds who tried to form Powerful alliance w Narragansetts.

1636 Alone in canoe Oct RW rowed 30 mi in great seas to meet w/ N/sachems palavering w bloody Pequots & negotiated - not to join Peq. they allied w Eng: Ms. saved. 1637 - full war - Peq. ft attacked at Mystic R.

Gillet

AH & Antinomianism - Pur belief - salv gift of God - not carnal, but once saved - righteous living (fruits - works) best external sign - i.e. salvation resulted in morality - on this an orderly society built - to ? this was to be Antinomian as AH did - grace was all, works filthy rags. She spoke her opinions (as did RW) - revealed to her & excomm in 4 mos.

1638 More followers than RW - over 80 householders signed - Hutchinsonians f. Portsmouth. 1639, Newport; soon Warwick. Gorton of Plym threw in his lot with Hutch - contempt for all authority (ch & st), emphasized indwell of Holy Spirit in all believers (2. belief later?) - a difficult person - sepes =: = right to gov, & right of all to refuse to be governed & was banished from Port after being whip & jailed, to Newport - in Nov 1641 & even RW despaired. Nearly hanged in Boston.

1638 RW est 1st Bp ch in Am (Anabp) & was bp by one, & then bp 19 others. Jn Clarke, a Hutch

1643 RW to Eng (via NY) to get charter for ~~RW.~~ RI & saw Dutch - Mohawk war, ending in life of AH & children.

NY: Mohawk war.

Gaustad: Lib of Con

ch 3 Exile in London - also in civil war Saw Roundheads vs Cavaliers. or Loyalists. Timely as rel. toleration was in the air in time of rel confusion. Cromwell, Vane, John Milton - all favoring civil & rel liberty. RW primarily known for his book on
1644 Ind., printed by Milton's printer & London fascinated Pocahontas rec'd by royalty nearly 30 yrs. earlier. Got charter. Enforcing conconformity to one kind of worship - conscience of all - was "spiritual rape", RW believed. Nero was less an enemy of Xty than Constantine. No nat'l rel. can fit to every conscience. RW studied Bib in both Gr & Heb, but saw it was filled w/ ambiguities & mysteries. Said (1. Israel no pattern for a modern
Queries pub 1644, London nation 2. Rel persecution a violation of Xn spirit (3. It required conformity hinders Jewish conversion since it does not allow them a civil life or being (4 Rel war chief disturber of civil peace. (5. Soul is violated (6. Leaders profess to seek more light, but persecute those who get it.

1644 Jl. RW pub most famous book Bloody Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience - poorly org & written. Church authority & civil authority must be independent [were not in Salem, Boston]. All civil power orig. w/ the people - no divine right of kings. If Ch can compel Ch attendance, why not communion, conversion, contribute, pray. New Eng refused to accept NT, new covenant, new dispensation, a new gospel - Old Israel is passed away; the New Israel is the Xtn community - spiritual alone - not physical.

The Bloody Tenant was ordered by Parliament to be burned. Some copies survived, in fact were on board w RW safely bound for Am (in Eng 12-14 mos) w/ charter for his colony

Ch. 4 Exile from the Church.

See Memoirs of RW Joshua Verin beat his wife for attending In Prov, RW meetings

Goustad: Lib of Con

Dilemma –thus violating her liberty of conscience, & freeman
reproved him & he complained his freedom of Conscience
was interfered with since Bib said wife should submit
to her husband – he was forced to leave Prov, hauling Jane
out w/ropes. RW came to conclusion that no true
church of Jesus Christ was possible – all were man-
1639 made & he left Prov. ch. & no longer could be a
pd preacher – a hireling which led to a counterfeit ministry
Records of births, marriages & deaths were civil matters,
not rel. many had suffered by parish control over
these matters. Tithes should never be forced, or prohibited
by the St. St meddling. Nt to violate consciences of
Jew, Turk, Papist or Pagan. Rel should be voluntary.
Believed in millennium, ushered in by gr. persecution
Meanwhile one's task was not to found churches, but to
judge the false churches, & maintain hope. So he
was branded a Seeker.
Irritated w Jn Cotton, who claimed Ms Bay not intolerant
as it allowed Ind to be pagans, but when Xtns began in-
fecting other Xtns w/dangerous opinions – Well! – need
to punish & banish. Both JC & RW self conceit, Cam-
bridge, into gr, Heb & ch fathers, each convinced of his
own truth. R.W. argued that tolerant Holl had peace &
prosperity, commerce & greatness, & they guaranteed freedom
of conscience – was not dangerous or disasterous. RW? Legit
of visible ch, not right of others to create what they deemed as best
approximation of true ch even tho he was a critic of ch polity.
SAM'L GORTON – patent charter for Warwick; supported RW efforts
to keep R.I. free of Ms & Ct clutches. Rej. civil authority – all
govt; d. 1677. Following did not survive, but he helped prepare
R.I. for Q. [How?
1644 – Ms. outlaw Baptists (1. pol incendiaries (2. rej. infant bp.
(3. give Mass bad time – resisting war, obj. to civil inspection

Gaustad: Lib of Cons.

Immersion "dipped" introd from Eng Bpt into Jn Clarke's
1648 Newport Ch, then Prov, & flyin. Clarke, Holmes &
1651 Crandall on pr tour jailed in Lynn, Ms. & fined (Holmes re-
fused - & whipped 30 lashes) by order of Endecott; RW wrote
furious letter of protest - ~~as~~ violation of conscience.

Ch 5 Exile from the World:
RW spent time criticizing & circumscribing Mg, or
assisting or becoming one himself. Could not escape leadership
of Prov & Ind. Too much ind at each - Prov, Warwick, et al.
for union of col.
1648 Wm Codd, Portsmouth. R.I. agreed to charter 1644, then
factionalism broke out, complaints of pure democracy being
compromised, land allocations unfair, authority of RW, &
? of Gorton in Warwick. "Islanders" (Newport & Portsmouth)
vs. "mainlanders" (Prov. & Warwick). RW worry re
1651 widows & orphans uncared for in Prov & the fact he had never been
pd £100 promised 1647 for expenses) w getting charter from
Eng. To save threat col of R.I. down - RW sold tr post,
1651 & went to Eng to save charter, w J Clarke, Leyden both univ educ
(prob only 2 in all of R.I.) to Vane's home in London. RW taught
Dutch to John Milton, poet, & Sec of Foreign Tongues, who
believed the Bible was illuminated "within us" by the Holy
Spirit; matters of rel cannot be understood apart from
JOHN MILTON this illumination granted to children of God, & even
they cannot be certain at all times that they possess
the truth, much less can they be certain of others -
no one can be infallible judges or determiners in matters
of rel. to any other men's consciences but their own. Church
must limit its punishment to spiritual means only - can
separate persons from its fellowship but no more - no
fines, whips, etc. Church tithes & fees for marr etc not based on
conscience, but ch covetousness, & no need to compensate
clergy for expensive univ educ as expected - "hirelings".

Gaustad, Lib of Cons:

All Xtns called to priesthood – Milton wrote tracts.
1654 RW returned to R.I.; J Clarke did not. Civil Problems – cattle
1655 rustlers, horsethieves, selling booze to Ind. Richard Chasmore (Pawtuxet (Port?)) accused of buggery w/ heifer – a capital crime & he
1656 fled to New Neth. RW wrote P. Stuyvesant re same, & asked gov Endecott for advice; & Rich surrendered; Richard's trial Newport Mar 1657. Court found him Not Guilty
1663 Jl 8. Chas II granted R.I. its first truly royal charter (during Civil War in Eng).

Ch. 6 "Beloved Privacie"

RW ~~better~~ a hermit trader gov. an ungovernable colony. Had 6 children. Greatest privacy was near Ind. Est. tr post 1637 near them on remote cove of Narrag. Bay & lived off his earnings fr cloth, tobac, tools & seed & cook pots – no weapons or booze. Inds pd w/ furs, skins & baskets.
1641-51 He grew his crops, & had goats on an island. Inds peaceful by comparison to these Eng. Interpreter, wrote letters for Ind & book Boston wouldnot print them. 1651 went to Eng to keep R.I. from W. Codd. Sold post.

Pietist – While public agigtator, in priv tender & full of faith & hoped to sow "a little handful of spiritual seed while the short minute of my seedtime lasteth".
Wife Mary doubted her Eternal security; he assured her that she had, w/o question, been "chosen".!! [He knew this from observing the true signs of the walk w God – i.e. the visible saint –] Assured her she was not lost. Did not promote gospel of health & wealth – thought saints would suffer

LAND!

Note: great god land

Ref. to other Colony re border disputes

Negotiator. Sp made gold their god; Eng made land theirs; RW wrote "a depraved appetite" for land, not content with its platters "full of Dainties", would "pull & snatch" away their poor Neighbor's Bit or Crust"!
1675 King Philip's War – RW neg w Narragansets not to ally with Philips Wampanoags, w/ Gov Winthrop's urging

Gaustad: Lib of Cons:

War
T.C.

R.I. was officially neutral in the war / Ended Ag 1676—
52 Eng towns attacked (of 90), w 12 or more destroyed or
in ruins, includ Warwick & Providence. 600 Eng k.
1000 houses burned, includ RWms's, He had sent his
wife to Aquidneck to be safer; it served as refuge
& hosp. for wounded soldiers; RW even presided
over the sale of Ind. slaves to raise funds to help
citizens rebuild their homes.

17th c R.I.
R.I. as rel. haven, many came. Bapts who ÷ between
Arminian & Calv; & 7th day (Sat) Bapt. Anglicans
(but not in RW life); Congreg; Jews during his life; & some
came to escape religion, not embrace it — no mandatory
ch attend, tax. Many Quakers in large nos.
1656 – In Boston; 1657 – crop ears, bored tongues. 1658 – death
penalty. 1660 – 4 hanged, includ. Mary Dyer of R.I. Conn.
Q also had laws against Q; R.I. did not. Yrly Meet
1661 in Newport, 1st in Am. (Pa not founded for 20 yrs yet).
1672. Q. elected Gov. EASTON?? Geo Fox visited Newport (RW thought
May 30. Q. were wrong) – had his idea of lib. of conscience weakened??
No Q ever jailed in R.I., whipped burned or hanged.

Quakers
Jl 15, 1672. RW challenged Fox to debate at Newport & Prov.
on 14 propositions (differences) & let every conscience be
the judge which side, if either, was right. Throck-
morton (now infl. by Q) urged RW (fellow passenger
on Lyon 1630) to forget it, but Fox left Newport July 26,
leaving 3 Q missionaries to take up challenge.
RW thought Q's quaking the devil's counterfeit of godly
fear, held no standard or authority — not even the Bible;
tried to revise Scriptures thru notion of Inner Light —
claiming infallibility. No authority but private inspiration,
no external standard by which to be judged, no obedience
to civil law — could only lead to chaos.. Q males
wore their hair too long, Q. females too short. Q. women

Gaustad: Lib of Cons.

Long after
Congreg of Mass defended
John Cotton
+ Bapts of R.I. defended R Wms,
until Puritan bashing became
the fashion

Ola E. Winslow has excellent biog on R.W.
w Perry Miller Pur-bash ended.

sometimes made witness by parading naked in Boston &
Newport. [Apparently appeared naked to reveal the
Day 1 nakedness of others - a cruel cross to bear in obedience to
God, - but RW claimed Satan, not God stirred them up.]
[Aug 9 — eclipse of the sun] RW argued Q believed in
only a spiritual or mystical Christ — not historical Christ as both
God & Man. concentrated so much on the light within —
that they preached not Christ Jesus but themselves.
Day 2 Q. diminished the sacraments (Bp. was internal, as was Lords
Supper [RW himself at this time was not assoc w/ visible
church, & did not observe Comm either]. Q. worked on
Sun. Had dumb (silent) meetings waiting for the spirit.
Greeted w "Friend" or "Foe"; no recog. of superiors; objected to
Day 3. music as devilish practice; recognized F ministers —
which RW said was both unnatural & un-Xtn.
Day 4. RW attacked not only Q doctrines, but character as well -
believing himself sanctified if saying Thou & Thee, &
being equal to his superiors — too easy to be a Q. he said,
that explained their nos in R I & elsewhere. Opponents
refuted this — hard to be Q — persecuted. RW made
diff between John Foxe's (book) of Margtrys vs. Geo Foxs
Martyrs. RW wrote rest in big book - Geo Fox Digg'd
out of his Burrowes, & Boston pub. it as it didn't care
for Q. either. This was his last pub work - 1676.

Death of RW.

1680 - Newton's Comet flashed across the sky - an omen.
1683 - now had rupture, colic, lame on both feet. Died.
Exact date unknown. Buried on hill behind his home.
6 yrs later John Locke of Eng published his
Letter on Toleration. 1689.
Cotton Mather, New Eng historian, did not admire
RW but did give him credit for his work w Ind.

Gaustad: Lib of Cons.

Biblio.

1. Bartlett, JR. Records of Col of R.I. & Prov. 10 Vol. 1856-65
2. Pub. of Narragansett Club, 6 Vol. 1866-74. Collection of R Wm reprinted 1963 by Perry Miller. 7 Vol. w Complete Writings of R Wm, 1963 (out of print).
3. Miller, Perry. R Wm: His Contribution to Am Tradition 1953
4. La Fantasie, G. W. Correspondence of RW, 1988
5. Callendar, J. Historical Discourse 1739 (reprint 1971)
6. Brockunier, S.H. The Irrepressible Democrat: R Wm. 1940 biog
7. Winslow, Ola E. Master Roger Williams: A Biog 1957 " ch this